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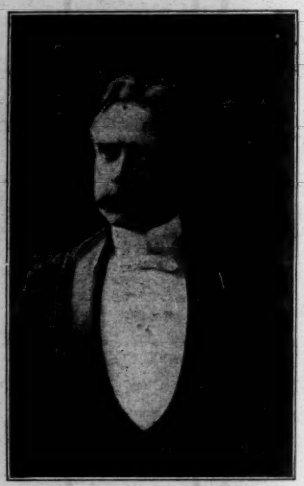

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

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POSSESSION IN MORAL THEOLOGY.

THE doctrine of possession is invoked to solve a great many questions in Moral Theology, and as it is accorded varying weight by different patrons, and even used in quite different senses, it may be of interest to consider whence its importance arises, and how far we ought to be guided by it in some of the more important cases where it is employed. Accordingly, I propose to examine in the first place its effect where the rights or property of two parties is concerned, and secondly, its effect where there is question of no such right, but merely of the observance of some law, whether emanating from a divine or human source.

The value of possession, as an aid in determining the conflicting claims of individuals, is most clearly recognized and most elaborately defined by the theologians when they are discussing the various titles to property. And in regard to articles that have never had an owner, as well as in cases where the tie of ownership has been completely sundered, it is recognized that physical possession, with the intention of appropriating the object, gives an absolute and indefeasible claim to it, unless indeed there be some special disability to the intending owner, such as his having been a thief.

This teaching is based on the fact that property in such an article can be acquired by no other means. While the earth and its products are for man's benefit and accommodation, he has no way of acquiring a right to them in the first instance other than through the exercise of his spiritual and corporal faculties. And that both sets of faculties should be called into

requisition is quite natural, for as man is a creature gifted with intelligence, it is only reasonable that it should be employed in promoting even his temporal well-being; whereas, in order to avoid contention and confusion, the object over which he aspires to obtain dominion should be in some way designated as his, to which end the instrumentality of his bodily powers is necessary; whether their action is mainly valuable as an index of the wish to establish proprietary rights, as some say, or whether it has some independent efficacy, as moralists commonly hold, is quite immaterial.

Writers with socialistic leanings are inclined to attribute the legitimacy of ownership thus obtained to the improvement wrought in the article by the labor expended in assuming possession of it. But inasmuch as the labor incidental to this process does not produce the article, and even does not necessarily effect any improvement in it, but merely marks it off as already occupied, it is hard to see how any dispassionate critic could support such a conclusion.

Possession avails, however, not only to give a primary or original title to property, but also to give what is called a derived or secondary one—to transfer ownership, in other words, as is notably evidenced in the case of prescription.[1]

From the fact that a person has been in undisturbed and uninterrupted possession [2] for a certain number of years of what originally belonged to another, he is considered to have acquired its exclusive ownership, provided that in so retaining it he has been guilty of no subjective sin of injustice against the former proprietor. One of the reasons commonly assigned for this making-over of property by prescription is that it is essential for the peaceful and harmonious working of society that possession for a considerable number of years should form an absolute bar to successful litigation, and should furnish a presumption of valid title that cannot be rebutted.

For otherwise no one could rest secure, as his right or the rights of his predecessors in title would always be open to

[1] Strictly speaking, in English law the term prescription is applied only in the case of incorporeal hereditaments. "But there is a kind of negative prescription established by the Statute Law extending to corporeal hereditaments, etc." Blackstone, II, p. 264, n. 5.

[2] Sine possessione praescriptio non procedit. Regulae juris, 3 in 6°.

question. Frivolous and vexatious lawsuits would be multiplied indefinitely, and as a result a great setback would be given to industry and the desire to improve property. Just as the land of a country is neglected and allowed to lie fallow and unreclaimed where tenants have no fixity of tenure, and as a rule assiduously cultivated in a nation of peasant proprietors, so if a person were liable to be ousted from a piece of real estate that he had held for a long time, or to be involved in expensive legal proceedings in an endeavor to retain it, he would be summarily deprived of every inducement to improve it. On the same principle the enjoyment of personal property for a number of years ought to be a guarantee against disturbance. Indeed without prescription, not only would commercial intercourse be speedily brought to a standstill, but confidence in the stability of society itself would be lost or placed in jeopardy.

And so it is that every civilized State, guided by the natural law, and discharging one of its primary functions, lays down precise and ample enactments in virtue of which it is competent for no one to challenge the ownership of what has been in the possession of another for a certain time; the public authority, if necessary, in the exercise of its *altum dominium*, conveying the ownership to the possessor, and rectifying any defect in his title.

But I believe that there is a deeper reason for the recognition of prescription as a title than the provisions of the civil law with a view to the progressive and harmonious ordering of the affairs of the community. With all deference to the great authorities who hold an opposite view, I am of opinion that the provisions of the positive law merely supervene on, and give legal sanction to, what has already been effected by the natural law, through possession; and that this is the primary reason why these provisions are nugatory, e. g. in the case of stolen goods where the change of ownership would not be in accord with natural justice. Catholic moralists, following the teaching of the Fourth Council of Lateran, insist as a condition for admitting this title that the property be acquired in the first instance and retained without the commission of a mortal sin of injustice. They lay it down as essential that no one, to the knowledge of the possessor, established a reasonable claim to

the object either before his taking possession or subsequently; and they condemn those directions of the civil law which do not require in him a conviction of the justice of his case. Now the reason for prescription that I have explained above does not warrant this restriction, because the questioning of any right, whether acquired *bona fide* or *mala fide,* in property which has been held for a long time equally gives rise to a certain amount of litigation and unrest.

Furthermore, in order to discharge its duty in this particular it is not at all necessary for the State to give the possessor a valid title, and to extinguish the owner's claim, but simply to prevent the former being impleaded, and to deny the latter redress *in foro externo;* whereas all admit that in prescription there is a real alienation of property that holds even in conscience. This view as to the restricted agency of the positive law is enforced by the consideration that it acknowledges no right in the possessor before the expiry of the prescription period, and yet from the very inception of this period he has at least the right to withhold the object from all but the owner.

Accordingly I believe that, independently of any intervention of the civil or ecclesiastical law, the mere physical possession [3] of an object with the requisite intention for a stated time, even though at the commencement of that time it belonged to another, begets a certain interest in it. The reason is that the end of property of all kinds is to benefit God's creatures; and if the real owner has not the custody of an article, so that its utility for him is in abeyance, it would frustrate God's design in creating it, if the right to enjoy it were withheld indefinitely from the actual possessor, who is alone in a position to utilize it for the purpose for which property is intended. If, then, it is probable that the owner can never make use in any way of a piece of property, and in proportion to the strength of that probability, his right to it diminishes, until, if it becomes morally certain that he can never turn it to account, either personally or through representatives, his claim in it totally ceases. The only feasible way of gauging such certainty is by computing the interval during which it has been out of his possession; and the number of years allotted for the prescrip-

[3] In the case of incorporeal property usage or enjoyment has the same effect, and for analogous reasons.

tion in most codes, at least, is enough to remove all reasonable apprehension that it will revert to his control.

The person who is in possession is meanwhile acquiring a claim *pari passu*, and his right to the thing is being established as the right of the owner is being invalidated and his hold on it relaxed, so that finally the possessor obtains absolute dominion when the right of the other has completely terminated. There is thus a gradual reversion to the normal tenure of property which is the union in the same individual of possession and the right of use.

That the occupier acquires a qualified ownership even before the right of the former owner lapses is clear from the fact that no one but the latter can lawfully wrest the object from his custody. But unlike one appropriating something to which no one else has a claim (*res nullius*) he cannot pretend to an unconditioned title at once, for he is debarred by the natural law from establishing a right in so far as that would conflict with the right of another; hence the transfer of ownership is gradual.

The same natural law that precludes the occupier or possessor from assuming at the outset full proprietary rights absolutely disqualifies the thief from reaping any benefit from his possession of what he has stolen, or from prescribing it, even though the ownership of it may be quite lost through the impossibility of the former master ever regaining it or turning it to account. Consequently stolen goods must invariably, when possible, be restored to the person from whom they were taken, not always because he continues to be the owner, for he may have lost this title through their protracted absence from his custody, but by way of indemnifying him for the loss he has sustained.

Another reason why prescription when vested with the proper conditions should be accounted a valid title to property is that a long and pacific possession begets a strong presumption that the person prescribing had originally a valid title, because owners, except in very abnormal cases, are so jealous and tenacious of their rights that it is altogether improbable that they would allow their property to pass into the keeping of another without protest, or allow him to keep it unchallenged. If, therefore, after a number of years a claimant ap-

pears who was not previously under any disability as to proclaiming his right, the presumption is that he is actuated by the belief that the possessor cannot now give satisfactory evidence of his title, rather than that he is a usurper and has no title. This presumption does not forbid or dispense with ulterior investigation; it is merely an assumption in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the claimant's remissness in vindicating his right has arisen from a consciousness of its unsoundness. Of course such a one may satisfactorily explain his apathy, and then this presumption would be rebutted; and he may even establish beyond the possibility of cavil that he is the real owner, and so prescription based on this ground alone would often fail. And we have already seen that the enactment of the State cannot be invariably regarded as a criterion of its limits and effects.

It remains to conclude, then, that it is physical possession with the proper intention that in the main originates a title in prescription, when obtaining rights to the property of another, as it does exclusively in the case of first occupation, where there is question of acquiring property in articles that have lost their owner or have never had one.

As regards articles that have been lost or stolen, it is clear that the rights connected with them are decided on the same principle that is at the basis of prescription. The former owner, by their being abstracted from his physical control, does not any longer enjoy the unqualified right to dispose of them. Supposing that what has been lost has so completely passed out of his power that there is no reasonable prospect that he will ever be able to recover it, his property in it lapses entirely. If however he has a fair hope of its being restored to him in time, he will retain a certain right to it until the expiration of the term assigned for prescription. Meantime the finder will have a right as against all others who may desire to appropriate it; but until the period in question has expired, he can convert it to his own use only at the risk of having to reimburse the owner should he subsequently appear.[4] After the expiry of the period for prescription, and earlier in many cases, it can no longer be deemed probable that the orig-

[4] Lehmkuhl, *Theol. Moralis*, I, n. 915; *Casus*, I, n. 602.

inal owner can with any show of reason establish his claim to it, and it then becomes unreservedly the property of the finder.

If stolen articles have been so effectually moved from the owner's keeping that there is no longer any likelihood that he can successfully prosecute his claim to them, they entirely cease to be his. Should the injustice not have been so completely effective—for instance, where there is some clue to the missing articles or some hope that they can be recovered within a reasonable time—he still retains some property in them, though it is being gradually undermined. But the thief does not concurrently acquire an interest in them, as if they were lost property which he had found, nor can he ever prescribe them; for that would be putting a premium on injustice, and would be subversive of the natural law enforcing and sanctioning the inviolability of what belongs to our neighbors.

By analogy the principle of possession as originating a right has been invoked by theologians and jurists to decide cases of debt where the payment is doubtful, and cases of damage where it is not clear who is the malefactor. In these and similar circumstances the well-worked maxim, "Melior est conditio possidentis," [5] is pressed into service and accepted as apodictic, or at all events as yielding to nothing but absolute proof to the contrary [6]—at least by the side that requisitions it.

Many theologians say that the person with whom the debt was contracted is in possession, and so nothing but a certain payment can be looked on as an adequate satisfaction of his claims. Their meaning cannot be [7] that he has acquired a right to the debtor's money by physical occupancy such as we have considered in the preceding cases, but simply that there is a presumption in his favor somewhat akin to that accruing from a long and undisturbed retention of an object, and such as there is generally present in prescription, though this presumption is not the true basis of that title, as we have seen.

It is well to remember that the analogy between the titles of the creditor or of the person whose property has been injured and that physical possession which gives a real, unques-

[5] Regulae juris, 128, and 65 in 6°.

[6] Lehmkuhl, *Theol. Moralis*, I, n. 108; McDonald, *Principles of Moral Science*, p. 223.

[7] Lugo, *De Just. disp.* 18, n. 7 ff.

tionable title is strained and far-fetched, and may easily be urged to a point that is both misleading and unwarranted.

Other theologians [8] cannot see why the presumption should be in favor of the creditor in such circumstances, or why the fact of the debt being contracted should create any prejudice as to its being paid, and still relying on this maxim give a diametrically opposite decision. They contend that the liberty of the debtor or of the supposed author of the injury is in possession, and must not be imperiled save in face of certain proof of his liability, their view being that the exercise of liberty may not be in any case interfered with except at the call of a certain obligation. But whatever may be said for this principle when there is question of the mere observance of a law (a point I shall revert to later on), its admission would give rise to hopeless confusion in such cases as the present, where the rights of others are involved. If the debtor, for example, can use his freedom in retaining his money, if he is in doubt as to whether he owes it, why may not the creditor in turn use his liberty and annex as much of the other's property as he thinks is due to him? In fact the admission of this interpretation of the axiom in the cases in question would be the sure prelude to a great clash of interests, and the accompanying social disorganization which it is one of the objects of justice to guard against.

In my opinion the claims of equity can only be met in such cases by allocating the amount in dispute in proportion to the probability in favor of each; or, since it is not always easy to discriminate between different degrees of probability, by dividing the responsibility for the debt or loss equally between the disputants.

At any rate, it is well to recognize that the possession that is appealed to in such circumstances is of a moral character, and is vague and indeterminate, and cannot be compared in its effect with the occupancy that is the foundation of prescription; for it gives rise merely to a presumption or probability of varying value, and that may be eliminated by reasons of varying weight on the other side, even though they do not beget certainty. Accordingly, we ought not to be too forward in

[8] See Lehmkuhl, *Theol. Moralis*, I, n. 961; Gury-Ball., *Theol. Moralis*, I, n. 721.

accepting it, as sometimes happens, as an unanswerable argument to anything but certain proof for the opposite view.

Carrying the analogy derived from physical possession a step further, we find the axiom, "Melior est conditio possidentis," again prominently employed as an authoritative guide for conscience when there is doubt, not about the ownership of something, but in reference to the existence or extension of some law. It is not my intention to touch in a controversial spirit on the delicate questions at issue between the different schools of Probabilism, and still less to insinuate any doubts about the truth of the system itself. But without doing either it is possible to arrive at an estimate of the value of possession as exempting one from, or subjecting him to, an obligation that is doubtful on other counts.

The fundamental principle, then, on which some of its most distinguished champions [9] rest their advocacy of Probabilism is that human liberty is in possession, and that every law or obligation has to establish its status before being admitted. We are reminded by them that "God from the beginning made man and left him in the land of his own counsel, and that He added His Commandments and Precepts," the implication being that these are subsequent to, and as it were a kind of encroachment on the privilege of liberty. Man, being endowed with his freedom in the first instance, has got a certain prescriptive right to the exercise of it which may not be disturbed until clear proof is given that it is in collision with the authentic expression of the legislator's will. Just as a person in the honest enjoyment of some property for a considerable time need not heed every frivolous claim that is advanced to it and need not accept the unsupported averment of the claimant, but can retain it without scruple or hesitation till he presents unquestionable credentials of ownership, so the subject, being convinced that he got his liberty from God, is not bound to believe that it has been restricted in any particular direction till this has been indisputably brought home to him. This, I think, is a fair presentation of the argument as it is usually advanced to justify any of the different questions with which Probabilism is conversant.

[9] St. Alphonsus, De Consc., p. 52; Lacroix, De Consc., nn. 272 and 495 ff.

Now, the first criticism to which I think the argument is open, and a very serious one, is that the assumption underlying it is untenable;[10] for the imposition of certain restraints on human nature was a necessary corollary of human liberty and a necessary part of the Divine plan. It would be derogatory to the Divine Holiness to contemplate man as having a liberty wholly untrammelled and unfettered by the precepts of the natural law. Human nature, with its limited perspective and capabilities, can be endowed with only such a meagre measure of liberty as readily lends itself to abuse, and so must have certain checks imposed on it, whereby such abuse is interdicted. When therefore we contrast liberty and law in the abstract, we cannot accord the one any priority over the other. They are both equally necessary factors in our notion of a human creature properly equipped for the attainment of his end.

Liberty unamenable to law is as alien to the true idea of moral excellence mapped out for us by reason and in the Scriptures, as a liberty repressed and enslaved by such insupportable burdens as the rigorist ideal represents. Law and liberty, instead of standing detached, or being in antagonism, are mutually complementary, like the soul and body. And if we prescind from the appropriateness of any particular law, we are as much entitled to assume that liberty should prove its claim as that law should, seeing that a multitude of laws, no less than our liberty, as a matter of course, go to constitute the capital by the judicious and industrious trading on which we are to win the talents that will be expected of us on the great accounting day.

The natural law at least cannot be regarded as something intrusive and adventitious, a more or less unwelcome excrescence on our moral nature; and every good law is, in a certain sense, the natural law applied and interpreted conformably to the concrete circumstances of the community for which it is promulgated.

As a matter of fact many of the theologians who appeal to the principle that liberty is in possession do not apply it thor-

[10] See McDonald, *Principles of Moral Science*, pp. 223, 224; Gury, I, n. 79; Billuart, De Actibus Humanis, diss. VI, a. I; Walsh, De Conscientia, nn. 77, 78 (unpublished).

oughly and consistently in all doubts that arise, but only in a spirit of compromise. Thus Lehmkuhl,[11] for instance, while using it to exempt a person for whom there is question of the law coming into operation for the first time, practically ignores it when the cessation of a hitherto existing law is mooted. Accordingly he holds that, whilst a mere doubt or surmise as to its existence is sufficient to warrant one in violating a law that is only now beginning to be urgent, one requires much more—a positive reason on one's side—if he is to be released from a law that has heretofore been binding on him.

But if liberty is to be allowed a preference on the ground that it is a primary attribute of human nature, and that law is always, to a certain extent, a gravamen and encroachment on it, and has to justify its title, then whether there be question of the beginning or cessation of a law, any conjecture that is not entirely fanciful ought logically exempt one from its observance. Nevertheless the majority of Probabilists at least, when treating of the extinction of an obligation hitherto in force, do not admit this, inasmuch as the law, they say, is in possession in such circumstances. Very inconsistently, however, they rate this possession in favor of the law rather low, requiring merely a probability that the law has ceased in order to counterbalance it. Hence the effect of possession, when it is in favor of liberty, can apparently be nullified only by certainty that the law exists, although when the law is in possession mere probability suffices to dislodge it.

For my own part, I do not see why obligations that depend on the supposed continuance of a law should be put in a class apart and invested with a special sacredness and inviolability. No doubt the fact that a law has been certainly in existence in the past, and that nothing definite has been heard of its repeal or obsolescence, gives rise to a presumption that it is still in force. But an equally strong presumption in favor of a new law may with the same plausibility be deduced, e. g. from a mere rumor that the legislator has been contemplating such an enactment, or that a like one is being enforced by a neighboring authority. Still in the latter cases it is not considered incumbent on the subject wishing to exercise his liberty to ad-

[11] *Theol. Moralis,* I, n. 108; *Casus,* II, n. 165.

duce any positive or definite reason in justification of his action, although he is bound to do so in the former instance.

From what I have said I believe that we are warranted in drawing the conclusion that the doctrine of possession cannot always be enlisted on the side of liberty and acclaimed as a charter granting us absolute exemption from doubtful laws. And we may conclude on the other hand that, when used to buttress a doubtful law, it avails only as a presumption that may be easily offset, based on the hypothesis that no change of circumstances has risen to render the abrogation of the law necessary or desirable, or that its repeal would have been communicated to us, or if there be question of a *dubium facti*, e. g. the striking of midnight, that the occurrence of that fact could not have escaped our attention. Accordingly, while the formula, " Melior est conditio possidentis," understood with proper limitations, gives a happy and succinct summing-up of the doctrines of Probabilism, it cannot, in my opinion, be regarded as a valuable argument at the basis of the system.

DAVID BARRY, S.T.L.

Templeglantine, Ireland.

CHRISTIAN SYMBOLOGY.

III. Studies in Christian Art.

THE culture as well as the associations of the early Roman converts to Christianity were, as we must suppose, largely pagan. As a consequence it became necessary to express the newly acquired Christian ideas in images and forms closely related to pagan ideals. Furthermore, the fact that the Christians were frequently subject to persecution by their civil rulers, and consequently were prevented from expressing freely their convictions and beliefs, naturally caused them to turn to a symbolic form of expression understood only by the initiated. Thus Christian symbolism naturally grew out of the conditions of early Christian life. Yet these same conditions imposed upon the folowers of the " new religion " a certain restraint which limited the forms intended to represent the most exalted mysteries. This led to the adoption of the *disciplina arcani* or mystical reserve. Again, Christian artists,

both in the early times and later on when peace had been established for the Church, must have experienced a certain diffidence, due to reverence, in giving realistic expression to the Divine Personality and in combining that reality with the humiliation of the Cross. They thus found themselves compelled for the solution of the difficulty to resort to symbols for depicting the august figure of the Redeemer. This frame of mind in the Christians, and this general situation, explain the growth of that marvelous art of symbolism during the early days of the Church in Rome. The various symbols and allegories employed by Christian artists, when grouped according to their matter and characteristic value in illustrating religious principles and doctrines, may be divided into (1) allegories that are the result of conventional Christian conceptions; (2) allegories taken from Scriptural representations in the Old and New Testaments; (3) symbols drawn from the animal and vegetable world; and (4) allegories taken from pagan mythological subjects.

Among the great Christian allegories of the first order, the chief subjects met with in the Catacombs are the figures of the Good Shepherd; next the so-called Orant, that is a typical figure of one praying or adoring; thirdly, the Judgment of the Soul, and lastly the *Coena coelestis* or Heavenly Supper.

The Good Shepherd is an adolescent figure of gentle aspect, clothed in a tunic, the feet usually shod, and a lamb on His shoulders. This figure is frequently shown as standing in the midst of the flock, feeding or with faces upturned to gaze at Him. He usually bears the pastoral adjuncts, of rod, the shepherd's pipe, a pouch for bread, and a vessel. The background frequently presents a pleasing landscape with its accessories.

The image recalls of course the Gospel figure of Him who said, "Ego sum Pastor bonus," and expresses the solicitude of Christ for the welfare of His lambs, that is, Christian souls. It is a simple and touching image of Christ's love for sinners, of humility, gentleness, and mercy.

The symbol of the Good Shepherd has also an eschatological significance in the burial service. For in the ancient liturgy they prayed that God would suffer the dead to be borne on the shoulders of the Good Shepherd, so as to enjoy the fellowship

of the Saints ("ut defunctum boni pastoris humeris reportatum sanctorum consortio perfrui concedat"). In like manner, the garden which blossoms about the lambs recalls the heavenly paradise.

The subject of the Good Shepherd is a favorite among the earliest themes of homiletic literature.[1] Christian art, too, contributes its share toward making it popular. Hence we find it so frequently upon the walls of the Catacombs and upon the sculptured slabs and the sarcophagi.

The Catacombs of Domitilla contain copies of the Good Shepherd that belong to the close of the first century, and about the year 200 Tertullian assures us that the figure adorned the chalices used in the celebration of Mass. On this subject Marucchi writes: "Some have mentioned that the image of the Good Shepherd has its origin in that of Mercury, or Hermes Kriophoros (ram-bearer), in pagan mythology; and at first sight there may seem to be a resemblance. Yet these two types cannot be at all confounded, because, while the figure and position of Hermes vary greatly, the Good Shepherd retains constancy of type, never less than sacred. For all this, one may admit that the Christian artists were inspired, for the broad outlines of their composition, by the type of Hermes Kriophoros; even as they were sometimes inspired by other pagan allegories."

The second class of figures most prominent in early Christian art is that of the Orant. It is a majestic feminine figure, wrapped in an ample cloak, her head usually veiled, arms outspread, face forward in the act of prayer. It was the usual attitude of Orientals and ancient Christians at prayer; and the gesture indicated hardly differs from that of the priest when he pronounces the *Oremus* in the Mass.

We may distinguish three classes of Orants: theological, Scriptural, funeral. The theological Orant represents the Church praying for the faithful; occasionally the figure appears to stand for that of the Blessed Virgin. When the Orant is isolated, and without reference to a particular tomb, it stands for the soul of the blessed. The Biblical Orant represents some character of the Old and New Testaments in the

[1] See Clement of Rome and the *Pastor* of Hermas.

attitude of reverence and prayer. Thus it is interpreted as standing for Noah, Daniel, Abraham, Isaac, Jonas, Susanna, the Magi, Zachary, St. Peter and St. Paul, etc., according to the circumstances in which we find it represented. The funeral Orants are the most frequent, and represent the souls of the departed thanking God and praying for the survivors. Often, they are idealized portraits of the deceased, whose names appear written near the images. Occasionally we find upon sarcophagi an Orant of masculine type, which in that case is assumed to represent the figure of the deceased. Here again Marucchi notes: "It has been asserted that the Orant is nothing else than a presentation of the pagan Pietas, as known to art in a beautiful statue preserved in the Vatican. True, there is a degree of resemblance between the two types, and it may be that the Christian artists made use of a type already known. Nevertheless, it is not positively proved that they copied the pagan type in reality, seeing that after all the Orant is merely a figure in prayer, whose attitude is common to the Romans and Orientals alike. According to St. Ambrose this posture calls to mind that of the Redeemer on the Cross; a devout interpretation, yet one hardly contemplated by the artist consciously."

JUDGMENT OF THE SOUL.
Cemetery of St. Hermes.

At times the Orant is the central figure of the immediate judgment after death. In that case it represents the Chris-

tian soul, aided by the intercession of the Saints, and received by the Divine Judge. There is a beautiful example of this kind of painting in the cemetery of St. Hermes. The Judge is seated on a lofty pedestal; two ministers attend him, one on the right, the other on the left; while the judged soul stands in the guise of Orant before the throne. Sometimes the Orant is represented between two candelabra, glorious symbols of faith and theological science.

The Sacred Banquet is another theme frequently recurring in the iconography of the Christian cemeteries. At a table of semicircular form we see the guests in reverent attitude on Oriental couches (*stibadium, occubitum*).

Three several interpretations are given to these banqueting scenes. Some would have them to be simple realistic depictions, in the pagan style, of funeral feasts or of Christian love-feasts. But this construction meets with objections: first, on account of the food displayed in these scenes, namely the fish and the bread. These have a mystical meaning. Furthermore, the scenes represented are generally parts of a series of images, which must be interpreted as a whole and which evidently suggest a mystical and symbolical meaning. Others interpret these banquets to mean the *coena coelestis*, or celestial supper; "My Father's table", *mensa Patris mei*, in the sense of εἰς ἀγάπην: "These sit at thy table, and are fed eternally." Such mystical banquets form a counterpart to the Biblical and Eucharistic feast, having in common with it the food (the fish and the bread), and expressing the union with Christ, the ΙΧΘΥΣ, in the heavenly banquet. This adaptation is supported by the character of the epigraphical terms here employed to explain the images and also by the frequent interpretation of the early Christian writers.

De Rossi, Wilpert, Marucchi and others, whilst accepting the view of the heavenly table, *mensa coelestis*, for some scenes, perceive in others the representation of the liturgical action of the "breaking of bread": the *fractio panis*, typifying the Eucharistic rite.

There are three noteworthy specimens of this banquet scene, namely the *fractio panis*, or Holy Communion, discovered by Wilpert in the cemetery of Priscilla, in 1893. It is supposed to date back to the second century. Next we have the Eucha-

THE GOOD SHEPHERD. (Cemetery of St. Callistus.)

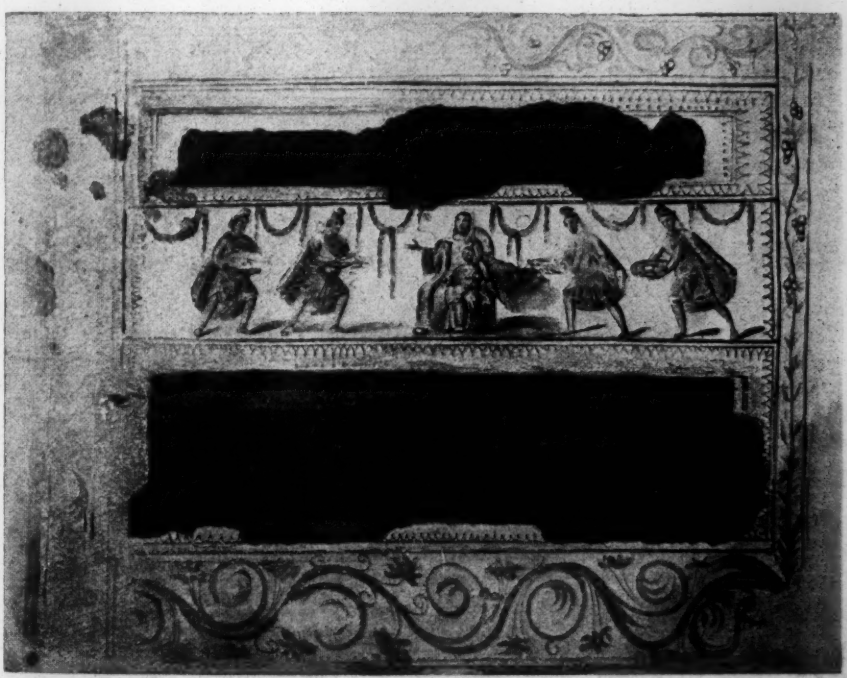
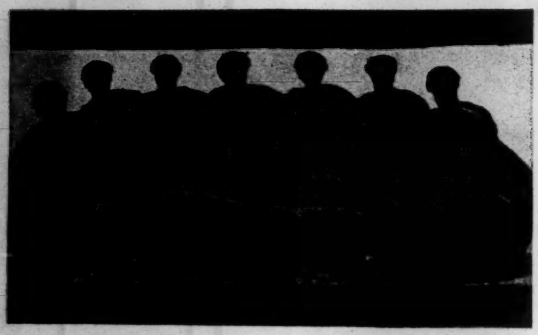


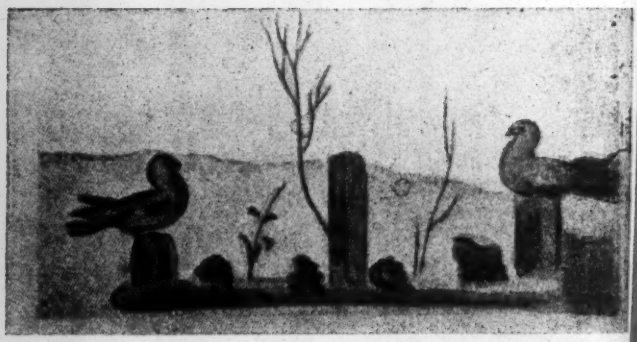
IMAGE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN THE MAGI GROUP. (Cemetery of St. Domitilla.)



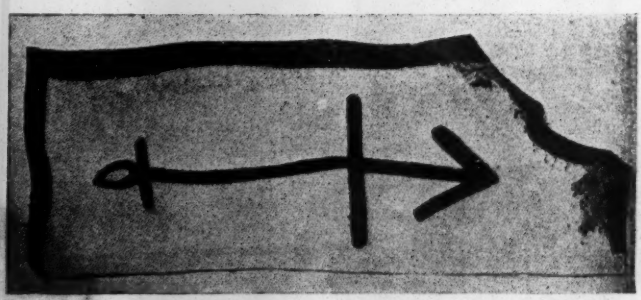
CEILING OF A CHAPEL.
Cemetery of St. Callistus.

ORANT.
Cemetery of St. Callistus.

ORPHEUS.
Symbolizing the Saviour.



SYMBOLIC DOVES.
Cemetery of St. Callistus.



SYMBOLIC ANCHOR.
Cemetery of St. Priscilla.

ristic feast in the cemetery of Callistus; and lastly the Eucharistic oblation in the cemetery of Domitilla. "A man is extending his hand," writes Marucchi, "as though to bless, and a woman Orant stands by to witness. De Rossi recognized in this scene the act of consecration in the Mass. The tripod table is the *mensa Domini*. It has the form of the dining table, as usually adopted for the altar in primitive times. Indeed, the very position of the table, between the baptismal font and the Eucharistic banquet, goes to prove its meaning. The Orant suggests the Church, praying before the consecrated Species."

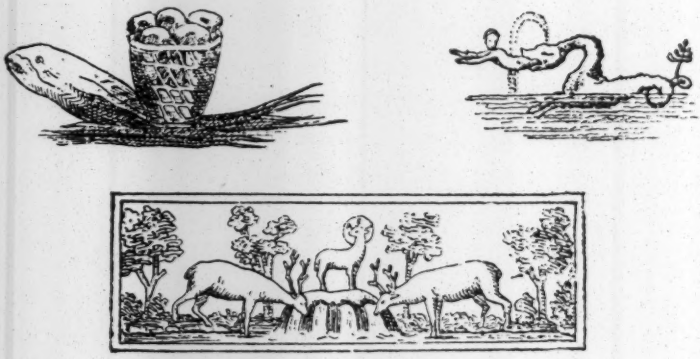
We come now to the allegories drawn from scenes in the Old and the New Testament. The early Christians, as those of later times, sought to illustrate from the characters and scenes of the Old Testament the facts, truths and doctrines of the Church as established by the Gospel.

The image of Adam and Eve after the fall, frequently represented on sarcophagi, supplies the reason and indicates the faith which underlie the Redemption. Noah stands as the symbol of regeneration, and as a herald of peace and salvation, for the soul after the trials of this life. The sacrifice of Isaac recalls the sacrifice of Christ; and, applied to the dead, it finds its interpretation in the ancient liturgy: "Libera, Domine, animam servi tui, sicut liberasti Isaac de hostia et de manu patris sui Abrahae." Moses, smiting the rock with his rod, and calling forth streams of living water, is the symbolic expression of the source of divine grace and suggests the waters of baptism. Jonas symbolizes the resurrection of Christ, and our own. The vindication of Susanna represents the triumph of innocence, the infallible judgment of God, the potency of prayer. The fish taken by Tobias at the suggestion of Raphael indicates Christ, who cures our ills and takes away the blindness of sin. The resurrection of Lazarus assures the faithful of the resurrection to come, and of the perfect health promised by the Saviour.

Among the symbols drawn from animals and plants, the most prominent symbol, as has already been indicated, is that of the fish: ΙΧΘΥΣ, signifying Christ. The initials of this name lend themselves to the construction of the phrase, "Jesus Christus, Dei filius, Salvator": ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ.

The fish becomes a sign of recognition, a sacred mark, which concisely embodies the different syntheses of the Christian faith. It implies a profession of faith in the dual nature, in the personal oneness of Christ, and in the Redemption. Sometimes the figure of the fish appears combined with other symbols. Near it is a ship; nay sometimes it bears the ship on its back in token of Christ sustaining the Church. Most often, it is coupled with the anchor, the symbol of hope, expressing the idea of trust in Christ. Again, it is portrayed in combination with a dove bearing an olive branch in her mouth, and expressing the sentiment "Spiritus tuus in pace et in Christo."

Another combination of paramount importance is that of the fish with bread. One is now prone to think of the miracle of the multi-



VARIOUS SYMBOLS.

plied loaves and fishes; but the artist is not aiming to adhere to the letter: he seeks to divine the hidden meaning, to idealize the basic fact. Yet what event, indeed, can lurk thus concealed under a fish bearing a basket of bread? A fish laid on a tripod table between two loaves, and a man extending his hands? Palpably, "the object proposed in this scene is to bring out a doctrine, not an event"; to wit, the Eucharist. However, one of the most curious examples of the conjunction of these two symbols, the fish and the bread, is furnished by a bronze lamp, found in 1869, among the excavations of Porto. This graceful design represents the ship of the Cross; the deck is formed by the head of the tempter serpent, holding in its mouth, between its teeth, the apple, cause of the original fall. On the serpent's head is planted, in sign of victory, the Cross; and on this rests the dove as emblem of the Holy Spirit guiding the Ark of

the Church. Lastly toward the prow, and offsetting the serpent, is a dolphin, imaging the fish of the heavenly *Icthys*, which holds in its mouth a loaf of bread of counterpart form to the apple; doubtless, the Eucharistic bread. The sublimity of antithesis: on one side, the serpent with fruit to destroy, on the other, the fish with healing nutriment. In like manner is to be interpreted a fresco, quite singular in conception, and twice depicted, in one of the most ancient chambers of the Crypts of Lucina. This is a living fish, furrowing the water, and bearing on its back a basket heaped full of loaves. The loaves occupy the upper part of the basket; in the middle, an opening discloses something red, which seems to be a glass vessel containing wine. As we look at this painting there comes to mind a passage of St. Jerome, affording the obvious explanation: "None is so rich as he who bears the body of Jesus Christ in a rush basket, and his blood in a glass vessel." [2]

Another very common and graceful symbol is the dove, which represents respectively the soul of the Christian, or the Holy Spirit, or again the candor and simplicity of innocence. When the dove is placed in a garden it speaks to us of the beatitude of heaven; when in the act of drinking from a cup, or pecking at a cluster of grapes, it is a symbol of the Eucharist; when feeding, with folded wings above a cross, it signifies the soul deriving its proper nourishment from the Cross, etc.

The peacock, whose flesh was believed to be incorruptible, is the symbol of eternity; the phoenix that of the resurrection.

The lambs and the sheep denote the flock of Christ, faithful pilgrims in this world.

Worthy of special notice here is a scene sculptured on the sarcophagus of Bassus. A lamb with uplifted foot is touching the head of another lamb. Above it a dove sheds beams of light, in token of the grace and gifts of the Holy Spirit; whilst at its feet there is a waterfall, the mystical water of baptism.

Among material symbols, the most common is the monogram of Christ, composed of the first two letters of the Greek name Χριστός: ☧ or ☧ . Frequently the monogram has a transverse line added and forms what is called the *crux monogram-*

[2] Ep. 125 *ad Rusticum*, V. Armellini 20.

matica: ☧ or ✠ . In the East there occurs the ansate, or handled cross: *crux ansata,* formed with the Egyptian syllable ☥ , which signifies *vivere,* to live; so that the cross becomes an emblem of life: *signum vitae.* There is also the *grammadion,* ✠ *crux gammata* (*fylfot* cross), composed of four Greek *gammas:* this being the sacred symbol of good

omen. The monograms often occur combined, and variously interlaced, with the Apocalyptic vowels A and Ω, the beginning and the end. One of the most ancient allegorical tokens painted or outlined in fresco, in the cemeteries, or sculptured on the sarcophagi, is the anchor, symbol of the cross and of hope ("ad propositam spem sicut anchoram habeamus").[3] Often the cross is designed more plainly, with a transverse bar on the axis.

The pail, placed above the altar, or borne by the Good Shepherd, is emblematic of spiritual food, and often particularly designates the Eucharistic nourishment.

The palm tree recalls Judæa, and signifies the soul's reward after martyrdom; the olive symbolizes peace.

The sea is an image of the world, of this insidious age; the ship represents the Church, or our earthly career before it reaches the ports of eternity.

The halo was used by the pagans to designate their gods, heroes, and kings. It indicated power and majesty. The faithful later employed this same token to adorn the head of Christ, the practice dating from about the middle of the fourth century, when there was no longer any danger that the like symbol would be confused or interchanged with the pagan

[3] "Which we have as an anchor of the soul, sure and firm."—St. Paul to the Hebrews.

nimbus. Later, the nimbus was also applied to the images of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints.

Finally there are the allegories taken from mythology. The relationship of the cult of the pagan Hermes and Pietas to the devotion that suggested the representations of the Good Shepherd and the Orant may be questioned; but there is no doubt that the early Christians saw in Christ a certain likeness to the pagan concept of Orpheus. The latter reminded them of the more exalted graces of the Saviour, who by the sweet melody of His doctrine, the charm of His attractions would draw all things to Himself, and render them blessed. What better means of teaching them the power of virtue that issued from the Son of God made man than to liken Him to Orpheus, who, by the spell of music, could subdue the wild beasts and draw after him the mute creation of trees and plants? There are, too, points of contact between the offices suggested by the memory of the pastoral or bucolic Orpheus which help to illustrate the Christian idea of salvation through the care of the Good Shepherd, Christ. In like manner, the stories of Eros, Psyche, Juno Pronuba, protectress of the marriage bond, and the Dioscuri, offer material for reflection and lessons useful to the convert to Christianity who is thus led by degrees from his old religious ideals to the new revealed faith.

Many however of the figures which represent pagan models in connexion with the Christian worship fulfil a purely ornamental office. The artist's hand took up and followed the ancient method, continuing to express the models of art with repetition of favorite ornamental motives, carefully avoiding anything that might seem unbecoming or idolatrous and repugnant to Christian sentiment.

CELSO COSTANTINI.

Concordia Sagittaria, Italy.

AMERICAN MATERIALISM.

II. Studies in American Philosophy.

PHILADELPHIA in the eighteenth century considered itself "the pineal gland of the United States", so John Adams wrote. And the witticism describes accurately the philosophical influence which the city exercised at that time.

Descartes had located the soul in the mysterious pineal gland, but his followers had long since drawn the only consistent conclusion: a soul thus located must be material. And Philadelphia became the seat of this materialist philosophy without a soul; not that it was strictly localized there, but it radiated from there as from its natural centre, mostly southward, while the north remained more or less immune from it.

American materialism was never coarsely aggressive or given to a vulgar display of slipshod scientific theories used as so many clubs to pounce upon any and all religion. If in its later developments it admitted the conclusions of Cabanis, Lamettrie, Broussais, it admitted them in a sedate spirit of philosophical inquiry, not with the fierce enthusiasm of the French philosophers, mostly concerned just then with the repercussion their teachings were to have on the practical life of the people.

It is perhaps for this reason that this phase of American thought has attracted very little the attention of historians;[1] "yet its adherents were in a large measure forerunners of the modern age",[2] especially its medical expounders. True, none of its followers had the mental acumen of a Jonathan Edwards; none enjoyed the popular vogue of a Thomas Paine or a Benjamin Franklin. Yet the world-view which they represented and defended stamped its impress upon thinking minds. It was the first protest against the exaggerated idealism of the Berkeleian school; it worked hand-in-hand with deistic rationalism; but its greatest merit perhaps consists in having called a halt on wild speculation to settle down to the study of scientifically established facts. Grandiloquent but empty formulas, much current at that time, greatly irritated

[1] Fr. Van Becelaere in his work, *La Philosophie en Amérique*, does not even mention the movement or the principal writers connected with it.

[2] W. Riley, *American Philosophy*, p. 21.

the materialists, and one of their number, Thomas Cooper, brushes aside the bombastic notion "that all men are born free", with the pointed questions:

> Is a puling infant born free? Leave him free from despotic control for a few hours and he dies. Are all infants born equal? Equal in what? In size, health, strength, mental capacity? Independent? Of what and whom? Do the various circumstances to which two persons are liable to be exposed make no difference between them? A child, for example, educated among the priests of Juggernaut or among the Scavans of Paris? Our Creator has not thought fit to make every man six feet high, or to distribute brain or intellect in precise or equal proportions. In the distribution of these in all possible proportions and varieties it is not society, but nature, that is at fault.

Minute observations of facts, with a view to make them the basis of scientific induction, engaged their attention. Thus Benjamin Rush, another leader of the movement, has been called "the father of American psychiatry". "He was at least the first American to combine lectures on abnormal psychology and psycho-therapeutics with a regular medical course, and first to show the relations of those subjects to jurisprudence; for he appears to have recognized the existence of the criminal insane, whose morbid operations are to be considered not as vices, but as symptoms of disease." [3]

American materialism was based partly on these inductions, and partly on deductions from Hobbes and other English sensualist philosophers then in vogue.

From the time of Thales, Heraclitus, Anaximenes, and Epicurus, the problem of materialism or spiritualism has centered around the question of the nature of the soul; and this question hinges ultimately on the distinction between sensation and intellectual cognition.

Descartes had asserted that the body is an automaton; the immaterial soul is endowed with thought which expresses itself as intellection, volition, sensibility. The immaterial soul is located in the pineal gland; but Descartes is unable to explain how an immaterial soul can act on a material body endowed

[3] W. Riley, op. cit., p. 21.

with extension, figure, and motion. All bodies, mineral, vegetal, animal, as well as the human body, are endowed with these qualities and there is no distinction between animate and inanimate nature. What more natural than to suppress the distinction between the phenomena of thought and those of matter, thus asserting the fundamental identity of bodies and the human soul? Lamettrie, who called himself a Cartesian, held that there was no room for an immaterial soul in the Cartesian system: if we must admit the plant-machine and the animal-machine, why not the man-machine?

Locke had admitted, besides sensation, activity of the soul, namely reflection, or the soul's faculty to know its own acts, and this power he ascribed to an immaterial principle. Hume however wrote that we cannot know the why of causal action, but that this does not entitle us to deny the existence of the same. Do we understand attraction? Yet we admit it. And as motion follows upon motion, so changes in the mind follow upon changes in the body. Consequently we may rightly consider the material changes that precede thought as being the cause of it, for a cause is but a constant antecedent. And any phenomenon caused by a material change cannot but be itself material.

And Condillac thinks he has shown that every process of the soul is reducible to a single principle: sensation. Every operation of the mind he terms a "transformed sensation". Reflection, attention, memory, comparison, desires, volitions, all are transformed sensations. Our mental processes are essentially the same as those of the brutes, and man is above them for this only reason that his corporeal organization makes him their superior.

Not all of these theories were current in Europe when the first and one of the foremost of American materialists, Cadwallader Colden (1688-1776), began his philosophical career. Born in Ireland, and obtaining a medical degree from the University of Edinburgh, he crossed to Philadelphia in 1710. Finding very meagre prospects for a mere scholar in this new country, he returned to London; but some years later he again journeyed across the ocean, established himself in New York in 1718, and finally in Coldengham near Albany. Giving up the practice of medicine, he entered politics, and became in

succession Surveyor-General of the Province, Master in Chancery, member of the Council, and Lieutenant-Governor. He made an attempt, doomed to failure, to start under the patronage of His Majesty an American University whose object should be the prevention of the too prevalent growth of republican principles. His reputation for learning brought him into correspondence with many prominent scientists of Europe, amongst them Linnaeus of Upsala, whose system of botany he introduced into the Colonies.[4]

As a philosopher, Colden, speculating and writing in the early stages of materialism, is not altogether consistent. Moreover, as a true deist, he maintains that the philosopher should perform the duties of worship without in the least suffering his philosophical opinions to be affected thereby. He was anxious not to destroy free-will and the liberty of choice; for, he asserts, " in all actions of intelligent beings, which are likewise called moral actions, the intention, purpose or will is principally to be considered ". " Without this power the precepts of morality would be as ridiculous as for the maker of a clock to preach to it in order to correct its motions."

His moral system as expounded in his first work, *The Principles of Morality*, is on a low plane: it is a purely rationalistic hedonism, pleasure being the ultimate reason for the practice of any virtue. Liberty is nothing more than the freedom from external compulsion, and the moral conduct of men is entirely directed by their appetites or by habits slowly acquired: " Men in general are good by authority or custom and habit, and very little by reason; for example, the military gentleman will defend the least charge on his veracity by his life and yet defraud a soldier of his poor pittance; and the lawyer under the mask of a gown and band, will for a fee disguise truth and oppress the widow and orphan." [5] It is however in his second work, *The Principles of Action in Matter*, that his speculative tenets are brought out most clearly in the shape of a dynamic materialism. When Sir Isaac Newton formulated his theory of gravitation, he attributed an attractive power to bodies or to matter, but he is careful to add that this attraction is only

[4] W. Riley, op. cit., pp. 329-330.
[5] W. Riley, op. cit., p. 332.

apparent; that bodies act as if they were attracted with a force that varies in direct ratio to the product of their masses, and in inverse ratio to the square of the distance between them; gravitation is the perpetual effect of a cause of which he declares himself to be ignorant.

Colden was cognizant of this theory, and it is the question of this very cause of gravitation which he endeavors to solve. Matter, he holds, is essentially active, and is ultimately reducible to motion. And this theory is confirmed by an ideological argument: the simple ideas we have of things external to us arise from the impressions or actions of these things on our senses; and the knowledge we have of things is no other than the perception of these actions. Of substances we know nothing.

Whence comes this motion? Does its origin imply the denial of a Prime Mover of the Universe? No; Colden contends that the first formation of all things was made by some intelligent being, and that God at the creation gave to different kinds of matter distinct and different kinds of action.

But the fundamental difficulty remains: how to conceive that matter can act on the intelligent being, or how the intelligent being can give motion to matter; for there is nothing in common between them by which the one can act on the other. Colden adopts this explanation as final:

> We know nothing of the operations of intelligence otherwise than as its operations are connected with some material system; we cannot conceive of it as divisible into parts; its whole power acts in every place, or according to the School phrase, it is "tota in toto et tota in qualibet parte." . . . These difficulties are removed only by a conception of intelligence similar to that of space. Space of itself is indivisible, cannot be conceived as existing of parts separable from each other, contains all other beings, exists everywhere, and is not any quantity, shape or figure. This conception of intelligence is very ancient and is allowed to be very just and true—in Him we live, move and have our being. Suppose space is really the intelligent Being in which all other beings are contained, and that there can be no distinct parts, and that no part can have different powers from any other part; then all the different operations of intelligence must arise from the different material systems in it. As the mutual attraction of bodies in the planetary system is the effect of the action of

some universal medium, and the unity of that system is preserved by the gravitation of all toward the sun, so the unity of the animal system is preserved by the intestine motion of the fluid in the nerves which meet in the common sensory of the brain.[6]

This is tantamount to saying that the mind of man acts by material organs. Either for lack of consistent thinking or because of his religious convictions Colden did not press his premises. His successors however drew these conclusions with a vengeance.

Thus we find Joseph Buchanan of Kentucky (1785-1812) emphasizing the importance of matter over mind in no ambiguous manner in his *Philosophy of Human Nature*. Buchanan rejects the notion that the idea has a distinct existence and regards it as being nothing more than a repetition of the sensorial action. We are conscious that our ideas are creations of our own; our perceptions on the contrary appear to be nearly independent of us. Since they are the archetypes of our ideas we regard our perceptions as being external, and thus mistake them for the fixed external causes by which they are produced.

And why are we thus inclined to consider the act of thinking, perceived as a physical event by our senses, to be a thing entirely different from the same act apprehended by our consciousness? This is merely due to our prejudice against believing mind and matter to be substantially the same. And this prejudice finds its explanation in the fact that constant conjunction of particular events induces us to view them as connected by causation. But we have no direct experience of the connexion between the actions of the brain and the act of thinking.

The acts of consciousness by which we recognise our thoughts give no intimation of their physical concomitants; and the perceptions of sense by which we learn the properties of matter and the actions of the brain give no intimation of thought as known to us by consciousness. The act of thinking and its physical cause being thus discovered by us in different ways, do therefore not become associated in our minds, and thence must naturally be believed by us to be distinct and independent and entirely unconnected by causation. On the contrary, if we had always by the same percipient action apprehended

[6] W. Riley, op. cit., pp. 368-369.

both our thoughts and the physical events on which they are dependent, we could no more doubt the act of thinking to be a physical effect than the motion of the second billiard-ball to be effected by the impulse of the first.[7]

As a matter of fact our sensorial perceptions are gradually changed into intellectual ideas, like the colors of the solar spectrum, by unnoticeable variations:

The spiritualists grant matter at one extreme of the series, but find at the other a substance totally different, a spiritual intellect combined with it. . . . But the materialists, considering how minerals rise by insensible degrees into vegetables, and these again into animals, find no calculable difference, no being which does not interlock with another. Now the greater part of this ascending series of beings is material, hence the whole series is material.[8]

Joseph Priestley, who discovered oxygen and dabbled in philosophy and religion, can be ranked among the American materialists only in so far as he spent the last ten years of his life in this country. An unbeliever like Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, he was their intimate friend, and the latter, in an outburst of enthusiasm, ranked him as a comet in the system that included Voltaire, Bolingbroke, and Hume.

In matters philosophical Priestley is a plagiarist, and the ease with which this literary labor is accomplished made him a voluminous writer. His doctrines lack synthetic unity, but as a materialist he holds that man is made of one homogeneous substance; that the properties of sensation and thought are extinguished by the dissolution of the organized mass in which they exist, and that the only reason men have for expecting a state of consciousness or enjoyment hereafter is derived from the Scripture doctrine of the resurrection. It is a strange mania with almost everyone of these early American philosophers to appeal to Scripture in justification of their tenets, and to deny the charge of infidelity and atheism hurled at them by opponents. Priestley actually wrote an answer to Paine's *Age of Reason*; his disciple and son-in-law, Thomas Cooper (1759-1840) wrote *The Scripture Doctrine of Materialism.*

[7] Joseph Buchanan, *Philosophy of Human Nature,* pp. 19-20.
[8] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

Thomas Cooper was aptly hit off by John Adams—whose epigrammatic characterizations of his contemporaries are always Franklinesque in their brevity but with a touch of biting sarcasm thrown in—"as a learned, ingenious, scientific and talented madcap". A politician of pertinacious activity, a thorough-going hater of the "Black coats", who, he fears, "will contrive by some rascally scheme or other to defeat Stephen Girard's will and his College;" versatile enough to give us an English version of the "Institutes" of Justinian and a pamphlet on the connexion of Geology and the Pentateuch, he is moreover a materialist to the core in his *View of the Metaphysical and Physiological Arguments in Favor of Materialism.*

Influenced more than any of his predecessors by the physiological doctrines of medicine he had imbibed during his sojourn in France, he reaches an explicitness of negation not previously known in America. His arguments are of course but a rehash of those of Broussais, Cabanis, and their followers; only their boldness is new, fascinating to some, a source of deep irritation to others. President Adams had wished to have this perennial political agitator removed from the country; for his philosophical views he is now denounced and tried as an infidel; he is forced by the legislature to resign his presidency of the South Carolina College; and, as he himself put it, he led the life of a toad under a harrow. This is proof sufficient to show how deeply he had shocked the sensibilities of the majority when he wrote: "For the confutation of what is ignorantly called freedom of the will, one may read Hartley and Collins, Priestley and Hobbes, and Jonathan Edwards of New England. But to the physiologist all this reading will be superfluous. . . . The faculties of the soul have no existence; they are words only, the counters employed in reasoning, convenient signs of arrangement like the plus and minus. . . . The time is approaching when metaphysics will rank among the sciences that lay claim, if not to absolute demonstration, yet to an approximation to certainty sufficient for all the purposes of ethical reasoning and all the practical duties of human life." [9] On reading this last sentence, one is incontinently re-

[9] Thomas Cooper, *Arguments in favor of Materialism*, p. 408.

minded of August Comte, whose formulation of positivism in almost identical terms was still in the distant future; but it gives us an idea of how theories come to float in the air as it were, until the right man picks them up to compress them into a system.

The same distinction of being a precursor of future theories, but in another domain of research—psychiatry—belongs to the last of the early-school materialists, Benjamin Rush (1745-1813) of Philadelphia, philosopher, physician of no mean renown, and politician. With the psychological principles of Aristotle and the Schoolmen as his guide, Benjamin Rush would have been in a position to adhere to a sound realism. As it was, he was led by his medical observations to consider the soul as material because its activity is influenced by numerous physical causes, especially in the sphere of morality: a nervous fever may cause the loss not only of memory but of the habit of veracity, which latter malady will compel a woman, be she even in easy circumstances, to fill her pockets secretly with bread at the table of a friend. It is in vain to attack these vices with lectures upon morality; the only cure is proper medical treatment. Thus the young woman who had lost her habit of veracity by a nervous fever recovered it as soon as her system recovered its natural tone. The state of the weather has an unfriendly effect upon the moral sensibility; so has extreme hunger. Again, the influence of association upon morality is strong: suicide is often propagated by the newspapers, and monstrous crimes by the publication of court proceedings. Physical causes equally influence religious principles; and religious melancholy and madness will yield more readily to medicines than simply to polemical discourses or casuistical advice.[10]

These and numerous similar observations collected by B. Rush from his own extensive experience and that of his friends may appear rather superficial to serve as a basis for the doctrine that the soul is material, and John Adams once more struck off a fairly true portrait of Rush when he wrote that "the doctor was an elegant and ingenious body, but too much of a talker to be a deep thinker".

[10] B. Rush, *Influence of Physical Causes upon the Moral Faculty*, Address to the American Philosophical Society in 1786, p. 26.

Yet it was this very advantage which Rush possessed, of being able to spread his doctrines among growing minds as a professor of chemistry in the Medical College of Philadelphia, and later as a professor of medicine in the new University of Pennsylvania, that gave such a wide vogue to his materialistic tenets. Thus in his lecture "On the Utility of a Knowledge of the Faculties and Operations of the Mind to a Physician", he again holds man to be a single and indivisible being; for so intimately united are his soul and his body that one cannot be moved without the other; and once more he corroborates his thesis as an alienist, inquiring into the causes on intellectual derangement. If he still upholds the freedom of the will, he does it in such ambiguous terms that little is left of the true notion of liberty. Such as it is, it is admitted, not on psychological grounds, but as part of a deistic conception of nature.

Taking this early materialistic movement in America as a whole, it must be acknowledged that it gave an impetus to scientific research in various directions, especially in the domain of physiology. This, however, was unable to save it from decay. It is so essentially opposed to the almost instinctive beliefs of mankind that in the history of thought it has never been more than a meteor flaring up on the horizon to disappear rapidly afterward. Evolutionism procured for it a new lease of life during the nineteenth century, but that also was of short duration.

At the present stage of American thought there was a more definite reason why materialism fell so quickly into disrepute: deism, its principal ally, was dying; Scotch realism or the philosophy of common sense was making great strides forward. While materialism had only a few scattered defenders, the latter philosophy was strenuously upheld by the colleges and the innate sense of the fitness of things of the common people.

Scotch Realism.

When speculation runs to extremes, in the nature of things a reaction is bound to set in. A sincere thinker is not merely a student of philosophy, but also a man; and a surfeit of refined mental distinctions, of closely-drawn deductions, brings the mind back as by recoil to a fresh examination of fundamental principles.

Cartesian philosophy had jeopardized our knowledge of reality. In its wake had followed Berkeleian idealism, Lockean sensualism, Humean scepticism, and finally a crass materialism. All these systems had fascinated thinking minds for a while. The religious aspect of these various philosophies had in different ways undermined Christian belief and morality, and their wide diffusion amongst the masses had brought about directly the wild orgies of the French Revolution. A change was impending, the standard-bearers of which were the Scotch philosophers, Reid, Stewart, Brown, and Hamilton. Resolutely turning their back on all the subtleties of speculation, they appealed to the common sense of mankind as a tribunal paramount in all questions of philosophy. Reid, however, the initiator of the new school, lacked the courage and the insight to go to the bottom of the questions he was facing and attempting to solve.

The crying need of the hour was a philosophy that would firmly establish human knowledge, religion, and morality on an unassailable basis. Reid diagnosed the cause of the prevalent scepticism, and believed he had found it in the lack of proofs adduced by philosophical dogmatists to demonstrate truths that of their very nature need no demonstration and admit of none. Hence his task shall be to determine the fundamental principles of science and philosophy, to show that everyone takes them for granted, that they are natural, original, and necessary, that consequently they are the expression of the " common sense " of mankind.

Reid needed to go just one step further, and, crossing the threshold, prove that we are justified in admitting these fundamental truths not for any external but for intrinsic reasons; he had to prove that our faculties are able to attain, and in fact do attain, truth. Failing to do this, he left the road open to Kant, who made this very point the pivotal question of his investigations.

But such as it was, Scotch realism was a welcome turn in the tide of speculation. It was a philosophy founded on observation; it had no need of distorting facts to support pet theories; it appealed to the man in the street; it was a safe bulwark for the current Protestant orthodoxy against the insidious attacks of a learned deism and materialism and the scepticism that followed in their wake.

From the moment it was introduced into the country, it took such a tenacious hold that it has been looked upon as preëminently "the American philosophy"; principally perhaps because it seemed to harmonize in some way with the practical views of life that have always characterized the American nation as a whole. But it was not American in its origin, nor did it hold undisputed sway in the country, especially during the nineteenth century. It served more as a counterweight to all other speculative movements.

As practically every one of the Colonial Universities had stood thus far as the representative of some system—Harvard for deism, Yale for idealism, Pennsylvania for materialism—so Princeton stood for Scotch realism. "The College of New Jersey had impressed upon it from its very foundation a national character, inasmuch as it was not the college of an established church, nor of a single colony, nor of a people sprung from a single nationality, but had for its charter an undenominational document, for its heads graduates of Harvard and Yale, Glasgow and Edinburgh, and for its students the sons of English Friends, New England Puritans, and Presbyterians from Scotland and Ireland."[11] Yet, if it started as a non-ecclesiastical body, a Presbyterian form of belief came in with Witherspoon, increased with Stanhope Smith, until with the appearance of Asbel Green in 1812 the theological seminary so dominated the college that the two were persistently identified, and that up to the very sesquicentennial of the University. Philosophy became once more the ally of religion, more thoroughly so than had ever been the case with scholastic philosophy; it was only prized as such and not as an intellectual discipline of value in itself; and Princeton, which had thus far been relatively little to the fore, now took the lead with the advent of John Witherspoon (1723-1794).

On his mother's side John Witherspoon was a descendant of the famous John Knox. In his youth he was a student at the University of Edinburgh, and in his manhood a minister of the Church of Scotland. In 1768 he was invited to become the head of Princeton, and from the moment he set foot on the soil of the New World he became identified with the life and

[11] W. Riley, op. cit., p. 482.

the aspirations of its people; hence his extensive political activity which left him little time to devote to the systematic pursuit of philosophy. But the position he occupied gave him none the less an unwonted opportunity, which he utilized to the fullest extent, of directing the current of speculation into new and fruitful channels. He brought with him a collection of 300 volumes and received many more from various friends. He enlarged the curriculum of the College, and the study of philosophy was made to embrace lessons on political science and international law.

Already during his sojourn in Scotland Witherspoon had given vent to his aversion for the reigning deism by publishing the anonymous satire which he entitled his *Athenian Creed*, in which he thus parodies the main tenets of rationalism:

> I believe in the beauty and comely proportions of Dame Nature, and in Almighty Fate, her only parent and guardian. . . . I believe that the universe is a huge machine wound up from everlasting by necessity and consisting of an infinite number of links and chains, each in a progressive motion towards the zenith of perfection and meridian of glory; that I myself am a little glorious piece of clockwork, a wheel within a wheel, or rather a pendulum in this grand machine, swinging hither and thither by the different impulses of fate and destiny; that my soul (if I have any) is an imperceptible bundle of exceeding minute corpuscles, much smaller than the smallest Holland sand. . . . I believe that there is no ill in the universe, nor any such thing as virtue, absolutely considered; that these things, vulgarly called sins, are only errors in the judgment, and foils to set off the beauty of nature, or patches to adorn her face.[12]

When at Princeton he took up his "Lectures on Moral Philosophy", he began by enunciating very clearly the fundamental tenets of Scotch realism: "There are certain first principles or dictates of common sense which are either first principles or principles seen with intuitive evidence; these are the foundation of all reasoning, and without them to reason is a word without meaning. They can no more be proved than you can prove an axiom in mathematical science." And the universality of these dictates is due to the fact that they have been communicated at first and handed down by information

[12] J. Witherspoon, Works, Vol. 6, p. 185.

and instruction from age to age. They are so many divine instincts that we need but to apply in daily life. Cotton Mather had loudly denounced moral philosophy as being merely systematized infidelity; Witherspoon found in human reason the standard of all virtue! Applying his common-sense philosophy further in the domain of psychology and epistemology, he takes for granted Locke's theory that there are but two ways by which we can come to the knowledge of external reality—sensation and reflection. Sensation is divided into external and internal, the former being the immediate impression of objects from without, and the latter the sensation itself which we feel, including the supposition inseparable from it, that it is produced by an external object. And it is of course a first principle that our senses are to be trusted in the information they give us, because they are the foundation of all other reasoning. To Descartes' supposition that since our senses deceive us sometimes, they might deceive us always, he answers that when errors do occur, there are many plain and obvious ways of discovering and correcting the same.

The system of philosophy to which Witherspoon has pinned his faith does not leave much room for original speculation. Yet his theory on space is a vigorous attempt to solve the riddle of its nature, on which Descartes and Newton disagreed, and which was a little later to play such an important rôle in Kantian philosophy: among the perfections of God there is His immensity, or that perfection by which He is everywhere and equally present. How this is possible is the crucial question. In the Cartesian theory space is one of the essential qualities of matter, and consequently it cannot be predicated of spirits. Some Newtonians, however, admitting the existence of infinite space, hold it to be applicable to spirits as well as to matter: we can conceive of no being without conceiving of it as here and nowhere else. The immensity of the Deity therefore would consist in this that infinite space is coëxistent with God; whence the obvious conclusion that both space and the divine Being must be material. In a satirical vein Witherspoon shows the fallacy of this argumentation:

> The only positive idea applied to space is extension; but we can apply no idea to any subject which the subject itself does not impress.

Matter forces upon our senses the idea or image of its dimensions or extension. It is philosophical felony to steal an image which nature gives us, and invest a subject with it that never excited any idea in us, and consequently has no existence to us. We create nothing into a being, by applying ideas to it which we derive from something. Space is only one of the ideas excited by matter, and by the power of the mind extracted from its subject, just as we can imagine a color to ourselves, without connecting in our apprehension a subject with it wherein it exists. A little more of the same metaphysics which can prove that nothing is extended will prove that space is purple. But why should I say purple? Space is of all colors if light is reflected by vacuum and not by matter. It is a very ingenious contrivance in philosophers to render Nothing a subject of inquiry and conception, by dressing it in a suit of clothes borrowed from something!

Witherspoon was a conservative of the most pronounced type. Whatever traces of idealism might have lingered in Princeton, were completely obliterated. His successor in office, Samuel Stanhope Smith (1750-1814), who was his predecessor at the University as a pupil, followed closely in his footsteps after he renounced the Berkeleian principles with which he had been imbued in the early years of his training.

Before becoming president of Princeton, Smith was professor of Ethics, and his mind had become so warped by the postulates of his system that he defined the moral faculty as an internal sense, distinct from all others, and imparting on its particular subject primary and ultimate ideas which cannot be acquired by any process of reasoning nor by any other sense or power of our nature. The exclusion of reason from the very field in which after a painful struggle it had at last acquired its rightful place, was the revenge of a system pushed to extremes.

A closer contact with reality would have prevented him from such excesses. As it is, he falls into a curious form of Traditionalism:

Hardly is it possible that man, placed on the surface of the new world, in the midst of its forests and marshes, capable of reason, indeed, but without having formed principles to direct its exercise, should have been able to preserve his existence, unless he had received from his creator, along with his being, some instructions concerning the use and employment of his faculties, for procuring his

subsistence, and inventing the most necessary arts of life. The American savage, for example, has been taught from his infancy the necessary arts for supplying his wants. But the primitive man, if we suppose him to have received no communication of knowledge from his creator, and to have been abandoned merely to his own powers, without the least aid from experience, or instruction, would have been nothing but a large infant. Reason, the supreme prerogative of our nature, and its chief distinction from that of the inferior animals, could have availed him little in that emergency. It would have required, in order to its exercise, a knowledge of principles, and of the nature of the objects around him, which could have been the result only of time, and a certain degree of experience. In the meantime that recent mass of organized matter, called a man, would probably have perished.[13]

Smith's greatest originality, however, lies not in the domain of ethics, but in the use he made of the principles of evolution a long time before they were generally current. In this same essay he holds that, given the causes for their variety, natural features, like natural manners, are long in growing to maturity, and become fixed only after a succession of several generations. At last, however, they become fixed. And if we can ascertain any effect produced by a given state of climate, of society, or of the habits of living, it requires only to be repeated during a sufficient length of time, to give it a permanent character, and so to incorporate it into the constitution as to render it an hereditary property of the race. Along with this fixity is a certain flexibility, for the human constitution is formed with such pliancy in its organization that it is capable of accommodating itself to every situation on the globe.

He does not, however, carry his principles far enough to be classed in the camp of the materialists. Indeed, his analysis of the fundamental materialistic principles that all the workings of the human mind are but the results of vibrations of matter, " that the vibrations of matter produce thought ", and that we are to account for all the varieties of thought upon mechanical principles, is as accurate as his refutation of them is clear-cut.

[13] Samuel Stanhope Smith, *Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species,* pp. 17-20.

Whether we adopt the hypothesis that the nerves are like fiddle-strings, or that they are full of a medullary substance capable of vibrations, the fundamental principle of materialism is one: the vibrations of matter produce thought. On this theory it may be observed: 1. It has never been proved that there ARE such vibrations. It is a mere hypothesis. It may serve for speculation, but to build a system on such a basis is credulity, not philosophy. 2. Granting for argument's sake the existence of vibrations, there is no necessary connexion between vibration and thought. If there is not, there must be another hypothesis introduced, viz.: "There MAY be a connexion between vibrations and thought." Upon this hypothesis I should be glad to see Dr. Priestley or Dr. Darwin give us a poem or dissertation upon the thoughts of the harpsichord while the strings are vibrating at the touch of a lady's fingers; or upon the grave speculations of a mill-pond while the boys at play are throwing stones in it. 3. Suppose I again grant, for further argument's sake, this hypothesis to the materialists. It will be necessary to show that, in vibrations, considered abstractly, there is such a variety in kind and degree as corresponds exactly with all the varieties of thought. There are at least ten distinct intellectual powers. Not one of these can be accounted for by one or more of the others. The active powers, moreover, are numerous; and the mind, so constituted, is capable of a vast variety of thoughts, differing in kind and degree. Do vibrations afford an equal variety? No: it is not possible that there should be any more than two kinds of vibrations in a uniform elastic medium; that is, they may be either quick or slow, or they may be strong or weak. These kinds admit of various degrees; and this is all the variety of which the laws of matter (however finely organised the machine) will admit. Now, he must certainly be ignorant of his own mental operations, or of the laws of motion in matter, who can be persuaded of an exact correspondence of the one to the other.

It would have required but one step further to account for the real origin of ideas in accordance with the old Aristotelian theories. But the very name of Aristotle was an abomination to the leaders in the field of speculation.

Smith's successor at Princeton, Samuel Miller (1769-1850), faithfully trod the same path. He gives the Scottish school credit for having done away with "occult terms", such as phantasm, sensible species, substantial forms; and in this he was but following the trend of his age, condemning what it had not taken the trouble to understand. Was it preconceived hostility, or inability to grasp anything beyond his own petty

conceptions? At any rate, Miller, when summing up in his *Brief Retrospect of the 18th Century* the various philosophico-religious systems in vogue during that period, does not do better justice to Aristotle than to Berkeley, and especially to Kant. His account of the latter's philosophy is interesting, especially for the misconceptions it exhibits.[14]

He is much better advised in his criticism of materialistic assumptions; his blows are telling and his arguments are as valid now as when they first were penned: "From what organs of sense do we derive our abstract ideas? What fibrous motions are excited when we call to mind the ideas of justice, wisdom, benevolence and truth? According to Dr. Darwin, these general ideas are repetitions of former particular perceptions, obtained through the organs of sense. But can general ideas be mere repetitions of particular ones? The simple statement of the doctrine is sufficient for its refutation. While, in general, it solves the phenomena of one class of ideas—those which we receive immediately from our external senses—all the rest, not only of memory and abstraction, but of imagination, taste and moral perception, are left completely in the dark." Miller's positive contribution to philosophical progress was next to nothing. Immured in the narrow limits set by the school he represented, and apparently unwilling to look beyond for any accessions to his store of knowledge, he aimed at keeping all thinking in the traditional channel of his college.

In this regard Frederick Beasley (1777-1845), the last great name in the early Scottish school, far out-stripped him by his deeper insight, and his open-minded grasp of other systems. This no doubt is partly accounted for by his varied career: educated at Nassau Hall, and a tutor in the same college for three years after his graduation, he imbibed the current philosophy of his teachers. But renouncing the Presbyterian faith, he subsequently was ordained a minister of the Episcopal Church in Baltimore, and became provost of the College of Philadelphia. His acquaintance with the leaders of materialism and their theories broadened his views, but never made him deviate completely from "the sound philosophy" of his Princeton days.

[14] W. Riley, op. cit., pp. 512-514.

His most important work, *Search of Truth*, was published in Philadelphia in 1822. In the dedication of this work he gives us an insight into the evolution of his mind: "After the fanciful theory of Bishop Berkeley, as a kind of philosophical daydream, had maintained its prevalence for a season (in Princeton), the principles of Reid and the Scottish metaphysicians superseded it, and during the period of our residence in the seminary, acquired and maintained undisputed sway. At that time I, together with all those graduates who took any interest in the subject, embraced without doubt or hesitation the doctrines of the Scottish school. Since, however, I came in possession of the station which I at present occupy in the College of Philadelphia, my duty, as well as inclination, led me to renew my inquiries into this branch of science. The farther I proceeded the more interesting the subject became, and I determined, if possible, to compass the whole ground, by consulting every author who had written upon it, both in ancient and modern times. I had advanced but a short distance upon this extended plan before I thought I perceived that the Scottish metaphysicians had, either inadvertently or wilfully, done their predecessors very great injustice in their animadversions upon their writings, ascribed to them opinions which they never held, and assumed to themselves the merit of broaching and promulgating the very doctrines which they taught."

But if free in his strictures upon his predecessors, he does not disavow their fundamental tenets: "The primitive man, passing from the shadowy regions of conjecture and probability, comes to the clear and full light of demonstrative certainty which rests ultimately upon intuition; here by intuition is meant that act of the mind by which it perceives the truth of any proposition, as soon as it is propounded, without exertion or examination; and by intuitive truths, those axioms which are at once perceived by the mind, by a single glance of attention, and flash with a light upon it that is irresistible." [15]

And yet he seems to realize that these dogmatic commonsense principles do not stand the test of facts. For when a little later he comes to analyze various abnormalities of perception as observed and described by medical specialists, he

[15] Frederick Beasley, *Search of Truth*, p. 331.

admits that the attainment of truth is not as instantaneous, but must needs be a slow and operose process, in which errors and corrections play a prominent part.

In an earlier part of his work he had defended Aristotle against those who misinterpreted his theory of sensual perception; and a closer study of psychological data now brings him almost back to the traditional theory of mind and body: there is, he writes, all imaginable difference between conceiving of mind as performing all its operations through the instrumentality of the organs of sense, and conceiving all these operations as being nothing more than mere modes in the corporeal organs.

If Beasley was not to any degree original, his eclectic mind helped him to preserve a judicious balance between the extreme positions taken by men of his time. His successors, the defenders of the philosophy for which he stood, were numerous and influential, even up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But other forces were at work in the world of thought, and were steadily gaining ground and putting a new complexion on philosophical and religious speculation. Before proceeding to consider them, there remains however to survey the field covered thus far, in order to get a synthetic view of the progress made during this period.

Most modern writers have flippantly dismissed the study of medieval speculation under the specious pretext that scholastic philosophy was but the "ancilla theologiae", that it began and ended in theology, served no other purpose than to furnish the substructure for it, and never gave human reason free scope to develop along its own lines on its own principles. Considered from this viewpoint, American philosophy during this period was intensely "scholastic", especially at its inception.

It had its origin in theological disquisitions, it was expounded and defended by clergymen; for a long time a thinker or writer was considered "orthodox", or "heterodox", according to whether his theories agreed or not with the tenets of the church of which he was a professed minister. By a singular illogism the principle of free inquiry, which is at the basis of all Protestantism, was disregarded and stifled. To build up "a sound philosophy", i. e. a philosophy considered,

not as valuable in itself and for itself, but as an apology for Christianity as generally understood by each particular church, this was the chief aim of professor and preacher.

Christianity was uppermost in their lives and in their minds; its tenets were their very life-blood, their inspiration, their all. And for us of this later generation who view and judge them from the standpoint of history, their earnest narrowness deserves admiration. The modern philosopher's mind too often is eclectic to such a degree as to become erratic; it has merely a dilettante's interest in revealed truth; it flits lightly over every system, picks up a thought here and an idea there, combines them loosely into some shapeless whole without much regard to an organic cohesion; and it delights most complacently in every superficial novelty that arouses afresh its appetites of an intellectual "blasé". The virile attitude of those earlier thinkers was one of thorough conviction. But it was just as thoroughly illogical: it carried within itself the germs of its own disintegration. The ineluctable fatalism of logic brought about the ever more liberal views culminating in an unbridled materialism.

Free inquiry, once it became consciously consistent, gave rise to free thought; gradually the emphasis was shifted from revelation to reason: the truths heretofore unquestioningly admitted by reason because they were of divine origin, now were denied on the same ground; and, it must be granted, they were denied with as much good foundation as they had been admitted before, always on the strength of the principle of free inquiry.

Yet Christianity had molded the life and the speech of the people. Deistic thought in revolutionary France had gone to the length of inventing a new vocabulary; here it was content with using supernatural terms in a natural sense. To the uninitiated the change was scarcely apparent; a seeming reverence for God and sacred things was preserved under the guise of grandiloquent words, which the deists were adepts at using to good effect. But their philosophy was, and remained, shallow, and became more so when it ran into extremes. On one side it gave rise to the very superficial ranting of Thomas Paine, whose biting sarcasm catered above all to that lower iconoclastic propensity of human nature which revels in tear-

ing down what it has held sacred, and gloats over the havoc it has wrought. On the other side it gave rise to a materialism that was seemingly grounded on more or less accurate scientific observations.

Human reason never holds to extremes very long; and regaining its equilibrium, it took overwhelmingly to the *via media* offered to it by the Scotch school; religion and morality, so violently attacked, came once more into their own. They had never, indeed, lost their hold completely on the great mass of the people; yet many minds had become unsettled since the most active propagators of every new doctrine were the preachers graduated from the colleges where these speculations had their inception. Where, in the beginning of the Colonial period, there were a few well-defined groups of believers, settled even mostly within clearly circumscribed geographical boundaries, doctrinal confusion had now become worse confounded. Religion became a thing more of the heart than of the head. A wave of frenzied revivals swept over various parts of the country: as an emotional substitute for thought, they carried the masses along into a chaos of ever-increasing sects and churches, with whom a "mystical conception of the Universe" was the chief concern. This of course meant the overthrow of reason. As an anonymous writer of the period put it: "Cabalists and Quietists, all affect a mystic language, a dark kind of canting; they talk much of a light within them instead of common sense;—whoever shall reconcile all these must be an Oedipus indeed."[16] They all laid great stress on "the inner light", or, as John Woolmann wrote in his *Journal*, "the inward fellowship, received immediately from the divine fountain", by which we discern the "universal divine principle", "the fullness of God in us and in every blade of grass".

Thus over the ruins of idealism, materialism, and rationalism, the minds were headed straight toward pantheism, or the transcendental monism of Emerson and his school, and this new attempt of human reason was confidently predicted to become "the perfect religion" of the future.

J. B. CEULEMANS.

Moline, Ills.

[16] Remarks on the Spread of the Present Enthusiasm, United States Magazine, Philadelphia, 1779.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CLEMENTINE VULGATE.

BIBLICAL students must be aware how difficult it is to put their hands on a satisfactory account of the Vulgate Bible. Even in the most modern Dictionaries of the Bible the accounts given of St. Jerome's work are often meagre and unsatisfactory, whilst it is practically impossible to find a fair-minded treatment of the work done since the Decree of the Council of Trent, which declared the Vulgate "authentic".

Let me here briefly sketch the successive steps by which our present Clementine Vulgate was formed. This involves an inquiry as to what were the Old Latin versions of the Bible; what was St. Jerome's part in correcting, translating, and editing the Bible; and what was the work accomplished by the Tridentine Fathers.

THE LATIN VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.

The Old Latin version is commonly known as the *Itala*, but this term should be avoided, as it is apt to mislead. The origin of this translation is involved in much obscurity. The Acts of the Scillitan martyrs, who suffered between 198 and 202 in Carthage, exist in a Latin text which is generally accepted as genuine. These martyrs told the prefect that they possessed "the Four Gospels of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Epistles of St. Paul, and all divinely inspired Scripture". These acts may thus prove the existence of an accepted Latin text in Africa before the close of the second century. Similarly the martyrs of Vienne, who died in 177, seem to have known a Latin version from which they quote freely.[1] It is generally conceded now that Tertullian had a version in Latin before him as he wrote, and that he did not merely translate for himself from Greek. Hence it is allowable to suppose that a Latin version of the Bible existed early in the second century.

Ever since the days of Cardinal Wiseman the view that there was but one original translation of the Bible into Latin and that it took its rise in Africa has been held by many as almost demonstrated.[2] Wiseman's arguments were briefly these: (1) There was no need for a Latin translation in Rome, which was a Greek-speaking city. (2) St. Jerome knew of

[1] Cf. Eusebius, H. E., v. 1. [2] See *Two Essays on 1 John 5:7*.

only two Latins who wrote in Latin previous to Tertullian, viz. Apollonius and Victor, the latter of whom died in 197. (3) Latin was the language of Proconsular Africa and there are many Africanisms in the Old Latin version. (4) Lastly, Wiseman urged that the divergences existing between the Old Latin MSS. could all be reduced to a common basis and indicated merely the vagaries of copyists. Every one of these statements has been controverted, and it seems fairly certain that many various Latin renderings were published in the early days of Christianity. Thus, as against Wiseman's arguments, it is maintained that (1) the "Plebs" in Rome would certainly need a Latin translation; (2) that the inscriptions at Pompeii and Herculaneum are mostly in Latin, and that this is especially the case with the Christian inscriptions; (3) the argument from "Africanisms" is precarious, for all the examples alleged can be paralleled from the writings of undoubted Latins, e. g. Plautus, Quinctilian, etc. The Latin translation of St. Irenaeus and the Canon of Muratori contain as many Africanisms as do the Old Latin MSS.; (4) it is almost impossible to concede Wiseman's position regarding the fundamental unity of the existing MSS.; (5) we actually have different Old Latin translations of Tobias, Baruch, and I-II Maccabees. Lastly, it must be conceded that St. Augustine's well-known words about the multiplicity of Latin texts can hardly be explained save of different translations. He says:[3] "The writers who translated from Hebrew into Greek can be counted, not so those who translated into Latin. For in the early ages of the faith whenever a Greek codex came into a person's hands and he fancied he had sufficient knowledge of the two languages to do so, he ventured to make a translation." These words cannot, without due violence, be read in any but their plain sense. And a perusal of the Saint's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, especially on Psalm 118, will convince any one that he really did mean that there were a crowd of early translators. The witness of St. Jerome fully accords with this. It is true that his words in his Preface to the Gospels are ambiguous, but a comparison of other passages shows the view he took of the question.[4]

[3] *De Doctrina Christ.*, II, 14-15.

[4] Cf. his Prefaces to Proverbs, to Chronicles, to Job; also Ep. 18:21.

St. Jerome's Life and Work.

No true view of the Vulgate version of the Bible would be formed without some idea of the life and work of one who has always been acknowledged as the greatest Biblical scholar the world has ever seen, and who was undoubtedly raised up by God to do the work indelibly associated with his name, viz. the revision of the Latin New Testament and the translation of the Hebrew Old Testament into Latin.

Born at Strido in Dalmatia about the year 340, Jerome was early sent to Rome for his education. He was baptized at the age of twenty, and in 372 he went to the East, where he took up his abode in the desert of Chalcis and devoted himself to the study of Hebrew and Greek (Ep. 225: 12). In Ep. 84: 3, he gives us an account of his earlier studies. In 379 we find him at Constantinople, where he attended the lectures of St. Gregory. About this time, too, he translated the Chronicle of Eusebius and also twenty-eight homilies of Origen on St. Luke's Gospel. It was at this time that he became acquainted with Pope Damasus, at whose request he wrote Ep. 18 on the meaning of the word Seraphim. Damasus summoned him to Rome in 382, and here at the Pope's desire he corrected the New Testament by the Greek. "Only early manuscripts," he writes in his Preface to Pope Damasus, "have been used. But to avoid any great divergences from the Latin which we are accustomed to read, I have used my pen with some restraint; and whilst I have corrected such passages as seemed to convey a different meaning, I have allowed the rest to remain as they are." It was at this time, too, that he made his first revision of the Psalter by the Greek text. This is known as the Roman Psalter. He refers to this edition in his Preface to his second revision of the Psalter which was probably made at Bethlehem about 388. He says in this Preface that he had made his former revision cursorily according to the LXX; the second revision was made according to Origen's Hexaplar edition of the LXX; attention was paid to the variations between that text and the Hebrew, and obeli and asterisks were introduced in order to indicate these discrepancies. This revision is known as the Gallican Psalter because, becoming speedily popular, it was introduced into the churches of Gaul by St. Gregory of Tours; this is the Psalter which is now in use

throughout the Church, save in St. Peter's, Rome, in the Duomo at Milan, and in St. Mark's, Venice, where the former revision is still used.

But St. Jerome was already becoming convinced of the necessity of recurring to the Hebrew original if the true sense of the Sacred Scriptures was to be apprehended. In 381-2 he had translated the Chronicle of Eusebius, and in his preface he dwells upon the difficulties besetting all translations. "Some," he says, "consider the Sacred Writings harsh, not being aware that they are a translation from the Hebrew." In this same Preface written at this early date he shows a full knowledge of the work done by the early translators, the Seventy, Theodotion, Symmachus, and Aquila, and even of that which since the days of Origen had passed current under the titles of "the fifth, sixth, and seventh" editions.

In 385 Jerome, who had made many enemies by his outspoken criticism, left Rome on the death of Damasus, and in 386 we find him settled once more at Bethlehem, where he remained till his death in 420. His life here was one of unremitting labor. Sulpicius Severus[5] says of him: "Totus in lectione, totus in libris est; non die non nocte requiescit; aut legit aliquid semper aut scribit." His activity at this period seems indeed almost incredible. Between the years 386 and 392 he completed his commentary on Ecclesiastes; he translated the work of Didymus on the Holy Spirit; he wrote commentaries on Ephesians, Galatians, Titus, and Philemon, a treatise on Pss. 10-16; he translated Origen on St. Luke and on the Psalms; he further translated Eusebius on The Names of Hebrew Places, also the Book of Hebrew Proper Names and that on Hebrew Questions in Genesis; he wrote the Lives of SS. Malchus and Hilarion, and the invaluable treatise *De Viris Illustribus*. But more wonderful than all, he appears from repeated allusions in his writings to have at this time revised the whole Septuagint (he always speaks of the existing Latin translation of the Old Testament by this name) by Origen's Hexaplar. The only portions of this gigantic task which have come down to us are Job and the Psalter; the rest, so he tells us, was stolen from his locker.[6] At the same time

[5] *Dial.*, I, 8.

[6] Cf. Ep. 71:5; Contra Ruf., ii, 24; and iii, 25.

it must be noticed that this revision, as he tells us in his Preface to the Books of Solomon, did not include Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, an assertion which clearly implies that he did revise all the rest.[7] We must also assign to this period the commencement of his greatest work, viz. the translation of the whole of the Hebrew Bible into Latin. For this task his previous studies had prepared him as no Biblical scholar ever has been prepared. He took immense pains to perfect himself in his knowledge of Hebrew and Chaldaic, and has left us an amusing account of the trouble it cost him to acquire a real mastery over these languages.[8]

Origen had attempted the task of editing a critical edition of the LXX by comparing it with the Hebrew. St. Jerome had attempted to do the same for the Latin version by comparing it with the Greek, but his efforts in this direction soon convinced him that the LXX was a hopeless criterion, owing to the various translations which had been made and which had so mutually affected one another that it had become impossible to arrive with any certainty at the original LXX text. Hence he felt compelled to go, as he expresses it, " to the fountain head ".[9]

St. Jerome had received no commission to translate the Hebrew text such as he had received from Pope Damasus with regard to the correction of the New Testament. His work was private and unauthoritative. The story of its gradual publication is of interest as showing the lines on which he worked. In the catalogue of his works which he gives in the *De Viris Illustribus* he says: " The Old Testament I have translated in accordance with the Hebrew." This was in 392. He seems to have intended publishing the whole at one time;[10] but it appears from Ep. 49: 4 that the translation of Samuel and Kings was first published and was immediately followed by that of the sixteen Prophets. This was in 393; and from the same letter we learn that he had also translated Job at that time, but that other portions already translated were

[7] Cf. Ep. 134.

[8] Cf. his Prefaces to Job, Daniel, and to his *Commentary on the Galatians.*

[9] Cf. Preface to the Book of Hebrew Questions, also Preface to his Commentary on Ecclesiasticus.

[10] Cf. the Preface to the translation of Samuel and Kings (*Prol. Galeatus*).

withheld by him from publication for the time being, presumably till he should see what kind of reception those already put in circulation met with. Esdras and Nehemias were published in the following year,[11] and apparently at the same time Genesis. A long illness and the invasion of the Huns caused delay, and it is not till 395 that we find him writing to Chromatius and Heliodorus that at their request he has "dedicated to them three days' work, viz. the translation of the three Books of Solomon," i. e. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticle of Canticles. This gives us some idea of his rate of working. We are not to gather from it that he was slipshod in his work. His long and intimate acquaintance with the Bible and his revision of the Latin from the LXX had given him an immense facility; moreover it appears from many passages that he always worked with the assistance of a number of amanuenses. Again illness supervened, and in 398 we find him writing to Lucinius, a Spaniard, that he has put at the disposal of the copyists whom the latter had sent to Bethlehem to make copies of Jerome's works, "the canon of the Hebrew verity—except the Octateuch, which I have at present in hand." By the Octateuch he means the first eight Books, and it is not easy to understand how he can say this when Genesis had already been published, save on the supposition that he was engaged in revising his former translation (Ep. 71 : 5). A gap of some five years now intervenes, and it is not till 404 that the work was completed by the publication of the rest of the Pentateuch and Esther, as we see from the Prefaces to Josue and to Esther.

Reception of the New Translation by the Church.

St. Jerome's work met with much opposition. St. Augustine's attitude toward it is generally represented as adverse. This is not a fair view of the African Bishop's position. He held the LXX in the deepest respect, and urged St. Jerome to devote his labor rather to a revision of that version than to the publication of a new one.[12] But as a matter of fact St. Augustine's intense love for Holy Scripture compelled him to recognize the immense value of St. Jerome's labors. Thus it

[11] See Preface to these books.

[12] Cf. Ep. 104, among those of St. Jerome.

has been shown that in the church at Hippo during St. Augustine's episcopate, from 400 onward, the Gospels were read according to St. Jerome's correction; and further, while the Old Latin version was held to, St. Augustine could, and did, use the new rendering for the sake of its excellence; thus, in *De Doctrina Christiana*, iv. 16, he quotes Amos 6: 1-16 from St. Jerome's version, "not according to the LXX . . . who are sometimes obscure [by the LXX he of course means the Old Latin version] . . . but according to the Latin translation made from the Hebrew by the priest Jerome, who is most skilled in both languages." It is not impossible indeed that when St. Augustine in the same treatise, *De Doct. Christ.*, ii. 22, says, "Of all these renderings the *Itala* is to be preferred, for it adheres more closely to the words [of the original] and gives the sense more clearly", he may be referring to the Vulgate version by St. Jerome. It is certainly remarkable that the very same words are used by St. Isidore of Seville (+ 636) in *De Offic. Eccles.*, i. 12, and later by Walafrid Strabo. Both of these writers would seem to be quoting St. Augustine and both are clearly referring to the Vulgate version.

Be this as it may, the version gradually made its way, and in St. Gregory the Great's Preface to his *Moralia in Job* we find him saying that he uses either translation indifferently, while St. Bede in the eighth century speaks of it as "our version".

Subsequent History of the Vulgate.

The old and the new versions existed side by side and the inevitable result followed—each affected the other. Those who were familiar with the older were tempted to write in the margins of their copies readings which they remembered from the version to which they had been so long accustomed. A revision soon became necessary, and in all cases it was not a correction of St. Jerome's work that was demanded but a restoration of existing copies to the state in which they left his hands. This work was attempted by Alcuin about 800, by Lanfranc about 1089, by St. Stephen Harding about 1150. The revision by Alcuin, undertaken for Charlemagne, was the most important of all these attempts at recovering St. Jerome's original text. The MSS. then existing may be conveniently

divided into three classes, those from Italy, those from Spain, and those from Ireland. All these types of MSS. met at Tours where Alcuin worked. The product was the set of Bibles known as the "Golden", conspicuous among which is the famous *Cod. Vallicellianus.* Alcuin went to Northumbria for Bibles, for it was there that St. Benet Biscop and the Abbot Ceolfrid had formed a famous scriptorium and had produced most precious MSS., such as the *Cod. Amiatinus*, the Lindisfarne Gospels, and those of Durham and Stonyhurst.

THE "CORRECTORIES" OF THE BIBLE.

At the commencement of the thirteenth century the newly founded University of Paris took one particular Alcuinian text of the Vulgate as the basis for lectures. This text was unfortunately a bad one, as it had been vitiated in its passage through the hands of a multitude of copyists. The University authorities, however, multiplied it, and its success seems to have been due in great measure to the chapter-divisions drawn up—according to some by Stephen Langton, according to others by the Dominican Cardinal Hugo à S. Caro. Its defects were known and the theologians using it corrected it as occasion arose. These "corrections" were at first placed in the margins, but as they grew in bulk they were gathered into separate books, which received the title of Correctories. No less than three hundred of these manuscript Correctories remain. The best known are the Correctory of the Sorbonne and that of Sens, otherwise known as the Paris Correctory. This latter is of great interest by reason of the principles which guided its compilers. It was not an attempt to recover the text of the Vulgate as it left St. Jerome's hands, but rather to correct the existing Vulgate text by the Greek and Hebrew originals; thus Cardinal Hugo, who was mainly responsible for its production, says: "In many Books, especially the historical, we do not use the translation of Jerome." It is interesting to note the enactments of the early Dominican General Chapters with regard to the Bibles to be used in the Order: thus the Chapter of 1236 says, "All Bibles in the Order are to be corrected according to the Correctory of the [Dominican] Province of France." In the Chapter of 1256 the Correctory of Sens is rejected as being an insufficient correction of the

Bible of the University of Paris. We possess three autograph Correctories which belonged to the famous Convent of St. Jacques at Paris and which probably date from the year 1256. No doubt the principle here at work was a false one from the point of view of those who at all costs would preserve the translation of St. Jerome; thus Roger Bacon condemns it unsparingly.[13] The Franciscans proceeded on different lines, and in the Vatican we have the well-known *Correctorium Vaticanum*, produced by a learned Franciscan scholar who was well versed in Greek and Latin and whose aim was to restore as far as possible the text of St. Jerome.

It is clear from this brief sketch of the various attempted revisions and corrections that the Vulgate text had by the time of the invention of printing got into an exceedingly bad state. And when the printing-press came into vogue the confusion grew greater still, though at the same time the invention itself was to prove a valuable means for securing a uniform text. During the first half-century after the inventing of printing no less than one hundred and twenty-four editions of the Latin Bible were published—perhaps the very best refutation of the old calumny that the Church reprobated the publication of the Bible. The most famous of these early editions was that known as the Mazarin Bible, in two volumes. It was printed at Gutenberg and at Mentz. Twenty-five copies of it are still existing. The first Roman edition was in 1471 and the first octavo edition appeared from Froben's printing-press at Basle in 1491. How numerous were these early editions is evident from the fact that even now copies which date from 1484-1497 are not rare.

But the multiplication of copies brought into clearer light the discrepancies existing, and the first definite attempt at a revision appeared in the Complutensian Polyglott of 1514. About the same time Erasmus, in his edition of the Greek Testament, gave a Latin translation of his own with notes on the Vulgate translation. In 1528 Robert Stephens, or Etienne, published an edition of the Vulgate New Testament for the production of which he used three codices of the ninth century. In a later edition of 1538-1540 he used seventeen MSS.;

[13] Cf. *Opus Minus*, p. 330; *Opus Tertium*, i, 94, cap. xxv.

some of these are good ones, and the edition then published is regarded as the foundation of the present Vulgate New Testament. Meanwhile a host of Catholic scholars were at work correcting the Vulgate New Testament by the Greek. Among these we may mention Cardinal Cajetan and Steuchius in 1529, and the Dominican Santes Pagninus, 1518-1528.

THE ACTION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

The discovery of printing, the flooding of Europe with MSS. due to the fall and sack of Constantinople, as well as the general renaissance, had brought a multitude of abuses in their train, not the least of which was the incautious multiplication of Biblical texts together with rash and misguided criticism on their contents. In the Session held 17 March, 1546, the Fathers of Trent specially singled out four abuses regarding the Bible which called for immediate remedy. These were —(1) the variety of texts in circulation; (2) the great corruption prevailing in the printed editions; (3) the perverse principles of interpretation; (4) the reckless propagation of the Bible. As a remedy for the first-named they proposed that of all the Latin versions the Vulgate alone should be declared "authentic". As a remedy for the second abuse, viz. the corruption of the Vulgate text, they urged that an edition of the Vulgate, purified from the corruptions which had crept into it in the course of centuries, should be brought out as speedily as possible. There is no doubt that the Tridentine Fathers had only very vague ideas as to the labor which the production of such a revised edition would involve. They seem to have thought that it could be done during the Sessions of the Council! There were scholars however who, while fully alive to the difficulties of the task, were yet competent to deal with them. John Hentenius, a Dominican of Louvain, set to work at once and in the course of one year produced the Louvain Bible. This was in 1547, and between the years 1573 and 1594 no less than nine editions of this Bible were produced. Hentenius used the best of Stephen's editions, and added readings from thirty other MSS. On his death Luke of Bruges, a Franciscan, was chosen to continue his task; he added readings from sixty fresh MSS. The troubles of the times caused a suspension of

the sittings of the Council and a series of vexatious delays retarded the work of revision. Some of the revisers, too, preferred to go slowly; thus we find that between 28 April and 7 December, 1569, twenty-six sessions were held, during which the text of Genesis-Exodus alone was examined. But there can be little doubt that this slow procedure was an ultimate gain; men's minds were forming; the huge mass of material was being sifted by passing through the hands of a number of successive members of the various commissions, and each commission profited by the labors of its predecessors. And though it is customary for writers who have not read the *Acta* of the Council and have not troubled to take into account the stormy period during which its sittings were held, to make merry over the forty-odd years which elapsed between the promulgation of the decree for the publication of an amended Vulgate and the actual appearance of the volume, no scholar who has followed the slow and cautious progress of the Oxford Vulgate will sneer at the slow procedure of the Tridentine revisers. The Oxford Vulgate, it may be remarked in passing, was commenced in 1877 and even now, in the autumn of 1911, only the Gospels and Acts have been published!

At length, however, in 1586, Sixtus V became supreme Pontiff and he at once proceeded to push forward the work of revision. The commission appointed by this Pope set to work in a methodical manner. It is interesting to note the MSS. which they consulted. In Rome they examined the famous Codex preserved in the library of St. Paul's "without the walls", the *Cod. Ottoboniensis*, and the *Cod. Vallicellianus* preserved at the Oratorian church, the Chiesa Nuova. They also examined MSS. preserved in the monastery of Monte Cassino, and above all the famous *Cod. Amiatinus*, now at Florence in the Laurentian library. They also sent to Spain for collations of MSS.; amongst others the *Codd. Toletanus* and *Legionensis* were thus examined. All this shows that the revisers were well acquainted with what are even now conceded to be the best MSS. of the Bible. Laelius collected the various readings thus discovered; Agellius compared the difficult texts with the originals, Hebrew and Greek, and at the public sessions over which Cardinal Carafa presided, the readings chosen after discussion were inserted in the margin of a copy

of the Louvain Bible. This copy still exists and is known as the Codex Carafa.

The work just outlined occupied the Commissioners two years. The goal at which they aimed was, be it remembered, the restoration of the Vulgate as it left St. Jerome's hands. They consulted the best Codices as far as they knew them, and posterity, with all its research, has seen no reason to reverse their judgment as to which were the best Codices, though of course nowadays we have far more material at our disposal than the Tridentine Fathers had. When the witness of the MSS. disagreed, the revisers had recourse to the versions and to the Fathers; and when these two aids failed them they went to the original texts, Hebrew or Greek for the Old or New Testament respectively. But in this last case recourse was had to the originals, not in order to correct the Vulgate but to avoid any ambiguity.

The Bible thus prepared differed in many instances from the Louvain Bible, not because, as is often supposed, the revisers who had laid it down as a canon to compare St. Jerome's translation with the Hebrew, *corrected* this translation by the Hebrew, but because they attached immense importance to the witness of the *Cod. Gothicus* or *Legionensis*. We referred above to a certain Lucinius, a Spaniard, who had sent scriveners to Bethlehem to make copies of St. Jerome's works, and we quoted a passage from Ep. 71, in which St. Jerome says that he has provided Lucinius's envoys with copies of all his translations to the Old Testament save the first eight books. Now the revisers under Carafa were convinced that in the *Cod. Legionensis* they had the nearest approach to these copies sent to Spain; hence in endeavoring to arrive at the nearest approach to St. Jerome's Vulgate they felt that the witness of this particular Codex must have preponderating authority. This fact shows how tenaciously the revisers adhered to the Tridentine Decree which demanded an accurate edition of the Vulgate, not a correction of it.

But when the revisers presented their completed work to Sixtus he declined to rank the *Cod. Gothicus* or *Legionensis* so highly as the revisers had done. Consequently whilst he made a "delectus" of their proposed readings, he refused to accept them *en bloc*. Whether the Sixtine revisers were justi-

fied or not in the estimate they had formed of the value of *Legionensis* is a mooted question, but certain it is that in inserting its readings into the margin of the Louvain Bible they changed the character of the latter very considerably. Sixtus however preferred to go by the consensus of the Latin Bibles rather than allow a preponderating authority to any one codex. Consequently the Sixtine Vulgate, which was finally published in 1590, does not really represent the views of the revisers so much as the personal predilections of the Pope. It is well to understand this, for much capital has been made by controversial writers out of the conflict between Sixtus and Bellarmine on this point. The Sixtine Vulgate was exceedingly well printed. It is true that we often read accounts of the shocking way in which it was brought out and are told that it was so full of misprints that the Pope had to paste over an immense number of places with gummed bits of paper in order to hide the printers' errors. Nothing could be further from the truth. There are over forty misprints in the whole edition and Sixtus detected only thirty of these, which, it is true, he did paste over in the way described. In the first edition of the Clementine Vulgate there were at least eighty misprints. The completed Bible was published with the famous Encyclical *Aeternus Ille* prefixed to it. In this Encyclical the Pope declared that the edition now published was not to be tampered with on any account. It is often remarked that Clement VIII, who published his revised edition in 1592, disregarded this Encyclical. Yet to every Catholic it should be perfectly plain that Sixtus prohibited only unauthorized persons from making changes in the edition he was publishing; he could never have meant that no successor of his in the See of Peter was to make changes in the text.

Sixtus died in August, 1590. Urban VII succeeded him, but died in the same year. Before the close of the year Gregory XIV was elected Pope, but Cardinal Carafa, who had worked so strenuously for the revision, died almost at the same time. A new Commission was immediately constituted. It consisted of seven Cardinals, with the elder Cardinal Colonna at their head, together with eleven Consultors, of whom the principal were the Englishman, Cardinal Allen, Miranda, the Master of the Sacred Palace, Cardinal Bellarmine, Agel-

lius, Morinus, and Rocca. They commenced their sittings in October, 1591, at Zagorola, whither Cardinal Colonna took them in order to secure complete retirement.

No doubt Sixtus had given offence to the members of Cardinal Carafa's Commission by his disregard of their conclusions, and no doubt too he had acted hurriedly in adopting certain changes; but we must not be too ready to condemn, as so many do, this great and most learned Pontiff. The following brief account of the events which led to the publication of our present Clementine Vulgate will serve to bring into clearer light the real value of the Sixtine edition and also to prove that Sixtus was not the hasty, ill-advised corrector he is generally represented as being.

A Commission was formed, as we have seen, immediately after the death of Urban VII. Rumors were rife regarding the relations between Sixtus and Carafa's Commission, and it was felt on all sides that these must be set at rest by the speedy publication of an amended edition of the Vulgate. Bellarmine, in his autobiography, writes as follows: "In the year 1591, when Gregory XIV was thinking over what should be done with regard to the Bible published by Sixtus V in which there were very many unfortunate changes ("permulta perperam mutata"), there were not wanting serious-minded men who felt that the aforesaid Bibles ought to be publicly withdrawn. Nevertheless I showed the Pope that it would be better not to prohibit them but, in order to save the honor of Pope Sixtus, to publish them in corrected form. I pointed out to him that this could be managed if these unfortunate changes were corrected as soon as possible and if the said Bibles were reprinted under Sixtus's name with a Preface saying that in his first edition, owing to the haste with which it was produced, some errors, either of the printers or of others, had crept in." Bellarmine then remarks that in giving this advice he had rendered Sixtus good for evil, since the latter had put a work of Bellarmine's on the Index! He then adds: "This advice was accepted by the Pontiff and he ordered the formation of a Commission which should at once revise the Sixtine Bible and make it conform to the 'ordinary' Bible, especially that of Louvain."

Two questions at once present themselves: What was wrong in the Sixtine Bible? What, in other words, were the "permulta perperam mutata" of which Bellarmine speaks? And how, considering that Sixtus is said to have preferred the witness of the Louvain Bibles to the conclusions arrived at by Carafa's Commission, can Bellarmine say that the Sixtine Bible is to be now made to conform to these same Louvain Bibles?

We must carefully distinguish the three steps by which our present Clementine Bible was arrived at. First there came the Sixtine Commission appointed to prepare a Vulgate text; their labors resulted in the production of the *Codex Carafa* or, as we have seen, the Louvain Bible furnished with marginal variants derived from an examination of other MSS. of the Vulgate and from a study of the original texts. The next step was Pope Sixtus's examination of this Codex and his acceptance or rejection of some of its conclusions, the result of his examination being the publication of the Sixtine Bible, but on principles which the members of the Commission resented. What then, in the minds of these Commissioners, was wrong with the Sixtine Bible? Bellarmine says that there were in it "many unfortunate changes", and in his Preface to the Clementine edition says that Sixtus himself had noticed that there were many misprints and had therefore proposed to reprint the whole, but was prevented from so doing by death. In his declaration to Pope Gregory given above, Bellarmine goes much further and says that these errors were due to the printers *or others*, and it is hard not to see in the words "or others" an allusion to Sixtus himself.

If we now compare the Sixtine and the Clementine editions we shall find that the latter differs from the former in no less than 2,134 places. But among these only forty rank as misprints, and of these Sixtus himself had corrected thirty. It is evident that the remaining ten cannot justify Bellarmine's assertion that there were "many unfortunate changes". When we turn to the rules laid down for the Commission of Gregory XIV we find that the first ran, "ut ablata restituantur", i. e. that the words or passages in the "ordinary" Louvain Bibles which were omitted in the Sixtine should be restored to it. The second rule was "ut adjecta removeantur". The third was "ut immutata considerentur". The

fourth reads "ut punctationes perpendantur", and the fifth declares that no change is to be made without necessity, and when doubts about any particular reading occur recourse is to be had to the oldest MSS. and then to the Hebrew and Greek originals, and to the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. In the MS. notes of Angelo Rocca, the Secretary of the Commission, we find the mode of procedure stated as follows: There were to be three meetings a week. The text was to be read aloud to the members of the Commission. When readings differed, "recourse was to be had to the Louvain Bibles, to the Hebrew and Greek and to the notes from MSS. collected into one volume and now in the palace of Cardinal Carafa, of happy memory". If a decision cannot be arrived at, the case should be brought before a general meeting of the Commission. And in case a decision cannot then be reached, recourse is to be had to the Supreme Pontiff.

What, then, were the "ablata", "adjecta", and "immutata" which called for correction in the Sixtine edition? As far as can be discovered, the only omissions which Sixtus thought fit to make were justified by the witness of the Louvain Bibles which he followed. Thus he omitted the notes inserted by St. Jerome in the Books of Esther and Daniel to indicate that certain passages did not exist in the Hebrew text; these were re-inserted by the Gregorian revisers. Many other passages were also omitted by him, though occurring in the "ordinary" and Louvain Bibles; but the Gregorian revisers did not find it necessary to re-insert them. Again, no one has ever succeeded in showing that Sixtus made uncritical changes, though it is possible that he relied at times too exclusively on the application of critical principles rather than on MSS. evidence. Nor should it be thought that Sixtus, because he did not give in his adherence to the *Codex Carafa* to the same extent as its framers had done, was therefore opposed to it; he used it largely and in many cases adopted its readings. But perhaps the most striking proof of the real value of the Sixtine edition lies in the fact that when at length it was felt that the Gregorian Commission was not proceeding as fast as could be wished and a new Commission was formed for the purpose of bringing their work to a close, the whole Bible was revised in the incredibly short space of nineteen days! This could not

have been done had Sixtus's edition needed so much emendation as is commonly supposed.

The story of this final revision is of interest. A MS., probably due to Rocca, informs us that for this special Commission were chosen Cardinal Mark Antony Colonna and Cardinal Allen; to assist them the most learned members of the Commission already existing were singled out, viz. Bartholomew Miranda, O.P., Master of the Sacred Palace, Andreas Salvener, Antony Agellius, Robert Bellarmine (not yet Cardinal), Valverde, Laelius, Morinus, and Rocca. These Cardinal Colonna took out to his seat at Zagorola, where they lived at his expense and completed the work of revision in nineteen days. This wonderful performance is commemorated by an inscription still existing at Zagorola. We give it in full, as it is too little known:

GREGORIUS.XIV.P.M.
DE.INCORRUPTA.SACRORUM.BIBLIORUM.SOLLICITUS
TEXTUM.VULGATAE.EDITIONIS.SEDENTE.PRAEDECESSORE.SUO
SIXTO.V
TYPIS.VATICANIS.INDILIGENTER.EXCUSUM
A.PLURIBUS.QUAE.IRREPSERANT.MENDIS.EXPURGARI
PRISTINOQUE.NITORI.RESTITUI.CURAVIT
DELECTIS.IN.HUNC.SCOPUM
ATQUE.ZAGOROLAE.MISSIS.CLARISSIMIS.VIRIS
BARTOLOMAEO.MIRANDA.ANDREA.SALVENER
ANTONIO.AGELLIO.ROBERTO.BELLARMINO.JOANNE.DE-VALVERDE
LELIO.LANDO.PETRO.MORINO.ET.ANGELO.ROCCA
ADDITIS.ETIAM.DOCTRINA.NON.MINUS.QUAM.DIGNITATE
EMINENTISSIMIS.CARDINALIBUS
MARCO.ANTONIO.COLUMNA.ET.GULIELMO.ALANO
QUI.PONTIFICIAE.OBSEQUENTES.VOLUNTATI
ANNO.MDLXXXXI
COMMUNIBUS.COLLATIS.ANIMADVERSIONIBUS.ET.NOTIS
OPUS.INSIGNE
ET.CATHOLICAE.RELIGIONIS.MAXIME.SALUTARE
ASSIDUO.SEDULOQUE.XIX.DIERUM.LABORE
HIS.IPSIS.IN.AEDIBUS.PERFECERUNT
NE.TANTAE.REI.NOTITIA.ALIQUANDO.PERIERAT
CLEMENS.DOMINICUS.ROSPIGLIOSUS
CLEMENS.IX.P.O.M.
EX.FRATRE.PRONEPOS.ZAGOLORIENSIUM.DUX
MONUMENTUM.POSUIT
ANNO.SALUTIS.MDCCXXIII

The troubles of the revisers were not yet over. Hardly had they completed their task when Gregory XIV died, 15 October, 1591. Innocent IX was elected a fortnight later, but died before the end of the year. Little more than a month later, however, Clement VIII was elected. He determined to bring

the labors of the successive Commissions to an end and for this purpose he entrusted the task of final revision to Cardinals Valerius of Verona and Frederick Borromeo, and to Francis Toletus, S.J., afterward Cardinal. The work of revision fell almost wholly on the shoulders of the latter. There exists in the Vatican library a copy of the Sixtine Vulgate in the margin of which Toletus has marked all the corrections which he felt to be necessary. His references are to the Hebrew original, to the LXX, to the Complutensian Vulgate, to the "Biblia Regia", to the Louvain Bibles, and to the "ordinary" Bibles. He makes special mention of the Codex of St. Paul's without the Walls, to the *Cod. Amiatinus*, and refers constantly to the decisions arrived at by the Sixtine and Gregorian Commissions. On the last page of this Sixtine Bible is written in Toletus's hand, "28 August, 1592, Feast of St. Augustine, the first year of Clement VII [*sic*] I completed these annotations". Thus within seven months from the time of the accession of Clement VIII to the Pontifical throne Toletus completed the revision of the whole Bible. He could not have done this had it not been for the labors of his predecessors, the members of the preceding Commissions. And here we may repeat what we have already insisted on, viz. that the repeated revisions which the changes detailed above have indicated ensured the thoroughness of the work. The Clementine Vulgate, as we now have it, was not the work of any one man or of any one age. It was not produced by any school of exegetes who might have prepossessions of their own; it was the work of a whole series of successive revisers, each of whom profited by the work of their predecessors. This fact should not be lost sight of in estimating the value of our present Vulgate text.

When Toletus's work was completed, it was submitted to the two above-mentioned Cardinals and was then entrusted to the printer, Aldus of Venice. But it is clear that Toletus's corrections were not accepted *en bloc*, for many of them are not to be found in the Clementine edition of 1592. But there exists in the Bibliotheca Angelica at Rome another copy of the Sixtine Vulgate in which the margin has preserved readings, titles of books, and verse-divisions which now stand in the Clementine Vulgate, though they are not to be found in the copy of the Sixtine Bible referred to above. These MS. notes

appear to have been compiled partly by Angelo Rocca, partly by Toletus himself, and from this copy the first edition of the Clementine Vulgate was printed in 1592. Before however it was finally entrusted to the printers, a difficulty was raised which, but for the prompt action of the Pope, might have caused endless delay. Valverde, himself one of the Sixtine Consultors, presented to the Pope a list of at least two hundred places in which the proposed Vulgate text differed from the Hebrew or Greek originals. He appears to have obstinately insisted that these should be corrected, but Clement, after taking advice on the matter, imposed perpetual silence upon him. This instance is instructive as showing how men who were themselves members of the Commissions failed at times to grasp the real purport of the Tridentine Decree, which aimed not at a correction of St. Jerome's work but at a restoration of the current Bibles to the state in which they left St. Jerome's hands.

Unfortunately the printer, Aldus, in spite of his deservedly great reputation, failed on this occasion to do himself justice, and the first edition was disfigured by a number of more or less serious misprints, one of which was not corrected in either of the two subsequent editions, viz. in Gen. 35 : 8, where Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, is said to have been buried " on top of " the oak instead of " under " it, *super* being printed for *subter*. The next year, 1593, saw a new edition, this time in quarto. This also had its own misprints and was replaced in 1598 by an edition in small quarto which was provided with a triple list of typographical errors for the three editions respectively. These lists were drawn up by Rocca and Toletus. No official Roman edition of the Vulgate has been published since 1598, though other editions have been brought out with official sanction. Most of the misprints occurring in the three official editions have been corrected, but even now new ones are to be found.

Each of the three editions published during Clement's lifetime bore on its frontispiece the title *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. jussu recognita atque edita: Romae ex typographia Vaticana.* It was not till 1675 that a Bible appeared with the name of Clement on the title-page: *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti V.P.M. jussu recognita*

et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita. To the edition of 1592 Sixtus's famous Constitution *Aeternus Ille* was appended, but in the edition of 1593 it was replaced by Bellarmine's Preface. Sixtus's Constitution was thus suppressed, and so is not to be found in the *Bullarium Magnum.*

The Holy See has now taken steps to secure an adequate revision of the Vulgate. In May, 1907, Pope Pius X announced his determination to have this revision made, and almost immediately afterward it was officially announced that the work was to be entrusted to the Benedictine Order, which by reason of its long centuries of work on the text is eminently fitted to carry out the task. Abbot Gasquet, Abbot President of the English Benedictines, was nominated President of the Commission appointed for the revision. It is hoped that before many years have elapsed we shall have an edition of the Vulgate worthy not only of the Benedictine Order but also of the great part which the Latin Bible has played in the history of the Church. But how vast the labor which this work of revision will call for will be clear even from the foregoing brief sketch.

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THE SEMINARY AND MORAL TRAINING.

I. FRATERNAL CHARITY.

BETTER close a seminary lacking in fraternal charity. It may turn out respectable priests, but they will not be of the seed of those men by whom salvation is brought to Israel. I would go farther and say: Better close a seminary in which fraternal charity is at the dead level of mere good-fellowship, without a trace or tincture of the supernatural in it. And even where this is to be found, if the practice of the virtue is confined to what obliges *sub gravi,* and moral theology is consulted to learn how much we may hate an enemy without losing sanctifying grace—even there, the seminary fails in its most essential duty; for it is not ordinary, but eminent, Christian charity with which students must be endowed to become apostles of charity to the people.

Some seminary rector may say here: "All this is true enough ideally; but much as we all desire absolute perfection,

we know by experience that it is unattainable, and we have therefore to make the best of the material in hand, depend largely on good dispositions, tolerate mediocrity of performance when nothing better can be had, leave room for future spiritual growth in the priesthood, and not scare away students of superior talents or of solid virtue, because we cannot make them saints. As to fraternal charity, granting that it should be practised in an eminent degree by every pastor, we would ask, is it not so practised? Does he not leave all things and dedicate his life to the greatest of all works of charity—the salvation of souls? Is he not ready at all times to lay down his life for his sheep? And does not our Divine Lord teach that this is the greatest love of which man is capable? If seminarians adopt freely such a life of self-sacrifice, and spend a long term of probation preparing for it, can it be said that they do not already share by desire and intention in its merits?"

The plausibility of this reasoning is apt to blind many to its sophistry. No one, surely, has ever thought of making attainment of absolute perfection the standard for admission into the priesthood. It is not the standard for admission even into Heaven. Ideal perfection is never reached in this life by the Saints themselves; and it would be foolish to expect that every seminarian ought to be a saint before he becomes a priest. But it is expected of him that he *grow toward sanctity* during the years of his preparation, and that his growth, at the time of his ordination, have raised him high above the level of the average Catholic layman. This higher level will not be the same for all; but it will justify him who is on the lowest in urging others to the higher life without blushing for himself. In estimating the spiritual growth of a candidate, we take account of good dispositions, but only when they manifest themselves in good works. Otherwise, they should be no more a passport to the priesthood than they are to office in the national treasury. As to mediocrity of performance, it may arise from one or other of two causes: from lack of reasonable exertion, in which case it should be a disqualification; or from lack of natural energy, when allowance should be made for temperament and credit given for good-will and serious effort. Superior talents are a valuable endowment

of a priest, but only when used in the service of our Divine Master. They become a veritable curse when abused for the exploitation of the possessor.

Fraternal charity of the highest order, as the objector truly states, is the end of the priesthood and, less immediately, of the seminary also. But he knows that the objective end (*finis operis*) must be made subjective (*finis operantis*), in order that the act motived by it be laudable and meritorious. A priest, for example, may say Mass simoniacally, and thereby turn the holiest act of religion into a crime. So too he may use the priesthood for unworthy personal ends, or, using it for the salvation of souls, and thereby fulfilling one office of charity, he may violate the others. He may be envious, jealous, intriguing; he may never help the poor and needy; never respond to an appeal of charity; never forgive an injury; never speak a kind word of the absent. "Bonum ex integra causa; malum ex quocunque defectu." There is no "playing fast and loose" with Divine Law. No one can be called charitable who does not discharge *all* the offices of charity as they present themselves.

I repeat it, then: Better close a seminary that is lacking in charity. First of all, the professors and other superiors must be a model of it to the student body; and this not only among themselves, but also in their relations to the latter. The young are keen observers, and naturally imitative. With their growing passions and tendency to unrestraint, they can scarcely be expected to strive earnestly against a vice to which they see one or other of those in charge of them flagrantly addicted. If disunion, and personal animosity, and rancorous party-feeling prevail notoriously in the faculty, a similar spirit is almost inevitable among the students. No spiritual direction can be effective against such influence.

Jealousy, envy, hatred, revenge, scandal, and sinful co-operation are the principal sins against charity; while the principal duties are: kindly feeling (*complacentia*), kindly wishes and intentions (*benevolentia*), temporal and spiritual help, especially almsgiving, example, instruction, advice, and correction. It would be beside my purpose to treat of these duties in detail; and as to sins against charity, all that needs be said is that a repetition, and much more the habit, of any

one of them will be followed in every respectable seminary by instant dismissal. Nor can this punishment be thought too drastic, if it be considered reasonable and prudent to expel students for going outside prescribed bounds, or holding secret correspondence, or going into a saloon, or smelling of drink. There is no training in that administration which condones a breach of Divine law, but visits with severest punishment a violation of institutional discipline. Our Divine Lord speaks severely of similar practice under the figure of the gnat and the camel.

The wise director will look for growth, rather than perfection, in charity as well as in the other endowments of those committed to his care. He will also need keen perspicacity to distinguish between genuine and fictitious progress. The surest test is humility; for all virtue is a repression of self, and when the repression is only superficial, the unmortified self will seek vent in some form of pride or uncharitableness.

Conscientiousness.

This is the habit of obeying the mandate of a well-formed conscience in every detail of life. It is not perfection; for one may obey conscience when it commands, but disregard it when it counsels or cautions, and this, without being formally sinful, may be imprudent and indicative of some latent evil disposition. However, it is absolutely necessary in the priesthood, not only for personal sanctification, but to avoid disedification and loss of influence. It must therefore be practised in the seminary, and condition promotion to Orders. A venial lie, an outburst of anger, careless book-keeping, dilatoriness in payment of debts, imprudent visits, lack of charity —these are sins which probably give grave scandal when detected in a priest; and yet one or other of them is sure to be committed from time to time, if he be not scrupulously conscientious, and so practically immune from the temptation of making light of the lesser immoralities.

These lesser immoralities are the death of conscientiousness; and yet casuists, such as priests have to be and seminarians have to learn to be, are in special danger of falling into the habit of them. They think they know the exact line dividing mortal from venial sin—how near one can go with-

out crossing the border. This knowledge (?) is itself a temptation to carelessness. A similar temptation to undervalue the malice of venial sin arises from the supposed facility of getting remission of it. (It is not always remembered that sincere sorrow and detestation with an efficacious purpose of future avoidance is as necessary for the remission of venial, as of mortal, sin.) Furthermore, the rush and crowding and worry of external work are liable to make a priest careless about the minor spiritual wounds of commodious peccadillos. His solicitude and anxiety about many things makes him forget that but one thing is necessary: to be "holy and unspotted in His sight in charity".[1]

Habitual obedience to a well-formed conscience is clearly inculcated in the Sermon on the Mount, where our Divine Lord speaks of the single eye. "Lucerna corporis tui est oculus tuus; si oculus tuus fuerit simplex, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit."[2] "Est itaque simplex oculus intentio munda et recta quae illud aspicit quod aspiciendum est, ut S. Aug. ait. . . . Ista lucerna non est lumen naturale rectae rationis, sed istud lumen confortatum, auctum, elevatum lumine fidei et gratiae, animus itaque fide et gratia edoctus et illustratus et intentio patriae coelestis vel studium Deo fide apprehenso placendi."[3]

St. Paul, too, makes "a good conscience" part of the equipment of a good soldier of Jesus Christ. "Hoc praeceptum commendo tibi, . . . ut milites in illis bonam militiam, habens fidem et conscientiam bonam."[4] Faith must light and guide the conscience of the priest who would "war the good warfare", if he would "keep the commandment without spot, blameless, until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ".

I may seem to be trifling with the reader's patience in thus confirming the self-evident truth that a priest ought to be conscientious. But the priestly character is watched so closely and is so primarily and vitally connected with the success of his ministry that its main element, conscientiousness, cannot

[1] Eph. 1:4.
[2] Matth. 6:22.
[3] Knabenbauer, *Com. in S. Mat.*
[4] I Tim. 1:18, 19.

be brought home to the ecclesiastic with too much urgency and emphasis. Mere circumspection in dealing with the people will not succeed. For it is certain, and almost inevitable, that a priest will at one time or another, show in public what he is habitually in private. The only safe, simple, and worthy policy to adopt is to resolve to be what we are believed to be. "Qui ambulat simpliciter ambulat confidenter." [5]

Although a habit gives a strong bent to the will, and disposes us to act more easily and willingly with than against it; still under great temptation that bent can be counteracted, and an act done contrary to the habit. Such act weakens and, if committed frequently, destroys the acquired inclination of the will; but if it be repented and the determination not to repeat it be sincere and earnest, the habit becomes strong as before, and the will is more on its guard against whatever would endanger it. Conscientiousness therefore is not destroyed by any single act done against the dictate of conscience; but the act must not be repeated, and it must be repudiated and its effects on the soul eliminated as soon as possible.

But the world judges character by acts which it sees, and not by habits which it does not see. Therefore no matter how conscientious a priest may be, if any public act of his be disedifying, his character will be lowered by it, his influence lessened, and harm done to those who witness it or hear of it.

How sedulously, then, should this habit be cultivated in the seminary! And how scrupulously ought those be debarred from Orders who do not show satisfactory growth in it! In the junior classes allowance may be made for the thoughtlessness and irresponsibility of youth; but even they should give evidence of serious effort to acquire it. Isolated irregularities may be treated leniently; but those that are habitual and are continued after kindly admonition must be punished with drastic severity. The mild treatment of certain youthful habits, however advisable it may be outside the seminary, is unwise, not to say cruel, in case of aspirants to the priesthood. It is even misleading to let them infer from the ease with which they are absolved that they may continue rising

[5] Prov. 10:9.

from and falling into habitual sin, up to the eve of their ordination. One deferred absolution will be more beneficial and effective than all the advice that may be lavished on them through the six years of their course.

Better results will be shown by the senior classes. If they have been trained, as recommended in the preceding chapters, there will be abundant opportunities of testing their conscientiousness; and it may be presumed that with God's grace they will stand the test well, without any notable failures. Minor failures there will be, because, young as our advanced students are in years, they are still younger in the spiritual life. Moreover on the eve of ordination, they feel themselves in a state of transition; and as their eyes are fixed on the day of their admission to the priesthood and the glorious future to follow, allowance should be made for excitement and distraction, and a certain measure of precipitancy and irregularity. It is not reasonable to expect in them a self-possession and circumspection that we can scarcely maintain in ourselves in some of the great emergencies of priestly life. A wise superior will therefore close his eyes to trivial irregularities, and not look for a forced, artificial, and transient perfection in the *ordinandi,* as if angels, not men, were expected to become ministers of Christ and dispensers of the mysteries of God.

In seminaries that give training a secondary place in the curriculum, the near approach of ordination has somewhat of the same effect on the *ordinandi* that the eve of the Fourth of July has on the American small boy. They celebrate their coming independence, not indeed with firecrackers, but with boisterous dissipation and ostentatious disregard of discipline, showing plainly what little moral effect discipline had on their character. Surely, had they been trained in the habit of associating responsibility with action, and measuring the former by the consequences and possibilities dependent on the latter, there would be more equipoise, more seriousness, more dread, less childish levity, less forgetfulness of prayer, at the approach of that day when the Holy Ghost will be sent on them, and they will be created priests forever, and endowed with commission and power to renew the face of the earth.

PRUDENCE.

There is no allowance made for rash, impulsive, inconsiderate action in a priest. Catholic instinct, with its sublime ideal of the sacerdotal state, endows him with consummate prudence, and trusts him implicitly, not only with sacred confidence, but also with weighty temporal responsibilities. Great harm is therefore done to religion when his people have reason to lose confidence in the maturity and solidity of his judgment. His influence—one of his most valuable assets—dies out; and although his ministrations are believed in and sought after, his sermons and instructions are heard with grave distrust. Now all this, which cannot be controverted, goes to show that giddiness, precipitancy, improvidence, spendthrift habits—in a word, defect of sound judgment, or, as it is called, common sense, ought to be considered a positive disqualification for the priesthood. Lack of common sense connotes an ill-formed, unbalanced conscience, which, incapable of self-guidance, cannot be trusted with the direction of souls, even on the lowest plane of the spiritual life.

It will be seen that the common sense spoken of here is simply the natural virtue of prudence, such as every successful business man practises in the management of his affairs. It is, indeed, scarcely distinguishable from the right use of reason applied to the direction of life. But based on this natural virtue, and analogous to it, is supernatural prudence, or the habit of directing our actions by faith instead of reason, and to supernatural instead of natural ends. It is the habit of seeing our lives from God's standpoint and ordering them in every detail by the supreme norm of His all-holy Will. When we make Divine Charity the motive of this habit, we have attained to a state of highest spiritual perfection; and hence a great mystic used to place prudence before all the other virtues.[6]

Both the natural and the supernatural virtue of prudence imply serious forethought and deliberation on what we are about to do, and in case of doubt, consultation of reliable authorities. In this previous study of pros and cons the virtue chiefly consists; and it is in this precisely that most imprudent

[6] Cassian, Collat. 2, Cap. 2.

persons fail. Even zealous priests often neglect to think, before acting on some generous impulse, and find out too late the unwisdom of their precipitation. Seminarians too are apt to decide vital questions affecting their vocation without reflexion or consultation. Some think that the only moral element in an action worth considering is the gravity of the sin that may be involved in it. If they have any intrinsic or extrinsic reason for doubting that the action is gravely sinful, they conclude jubilantly: "Lex dubia non obligat"; and it is only afterward, when they are punished for that action, that they realize the fallacy of their reasoning. Other students, anxious to evade some obligation to which they have a strong repugnance, deliberate indeed, but only on one side of the question—how the duty can be set aside. Theology teaches that a *grave incommodum* excuses from most obligations of positive law; so they set about finding one, and they soon persuade themselves they have found it by semi-deliberate exaggeration of the inconveniences incidental to every act of obedience. The law of fasting, for instance, cannot be observed without an unpleasant feeling of emptiness, which by fixed contemplation can be made grow to positive torture.

It is evident, then, that a priest must be a man of consummate prudence; and this he will never become, unless he has had careful training and practice in the virtue during his seminary course. "A priest will never acquire solid virtue, if he has not acquired it before his ordination." This is the substance of a remarkable chapter in Bishop Hedley's *Lex Levitarum;* and he bases the statement on the words of St. Gregory the Great: "Nequaquam valet in culmine humilitatem discere, qui in imis positus non desiit superbire."

Prudence is intimately associated with self-denial; for to act prudently, we must often suppress inclination, curiosity, self-interest, passion, habit, etc.; and we must avoid pleasant companions, places of amusement, a certain class of reading, and many things besides, more or less harmless, because of the danger of sin in them or the scandal which the use of them might give to others. "Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia expediunt. Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia aedificant." [7]

[7] I Cor. 10:22, 23.

"Si esca scandalizat fratrem meum, non manducabo carnem in aeternum." [8] "Bonum est non manducare carnem, et non bibere vinum, neque, in quo frater tuus offenditur, aut scandalizatur, aut infirmatur." [9]

Prudence and self-restraint are tested too severely in seminaries where a miscellaneous library is thrown open to students, and they are allowed to choose for reading whatever they please—Luther's *Babylonian Captivity,* or Bellarmine's *Controversies;* the works of Voltaire and Rousseau or those of Bossuet and Fenelon; Darwin and Huxley or Newman and Brownson. The fascination of forbidden fruit is proverbial, and accounts for the avidity with which dangerous literature is devoured. It is necessary of course to train seminarians in prudent selection of reading matter; but the training must itself be prudent. A child can be taught to swim without throwing it into deep water.

Chastity usually sickens or dies with faith: and to safeguard both, we must equally avoid immoral as well as infidel or heretical reading. An immoral book caters to lust; an infidel or heretical one to unbelief. Now, as the sin of unbelief is very much worse than the sin of lust, it follows that we ought to be on our guard against the literature of the former as we are against the literature of the latter. Yet such is not always the case; for many Catholics nowadays regulate their lives not by the Church's interpretation of the Decalogue, but by the ethical code of non-Catholic public opinion. In accordance with this they would consider it narrow and "parochial" not to have read Herbert Spencer; but they would feel out of grace for looking at a page of Zola—not, if their subconscious state were analyzed, because of the proximate danger of sin in the reading, but because they identify sin with whatever outrages their highly developed esthetic sense. Is it impertinent to suggest that priests have to guard against a similar error; and that, even in seminaries, students are in danger of falling into it, if they are allowed to read books against faith as they please, whereas the reading of anything against morals is followed by prompt expulsion? Mete out the same punishment to both; or if you make any difference, let it be in favor of the latter, not the former, delinquency.

[8] I Cor. 8: 13. [9] Rom. 14: 21.

The temptation, however, to read books propounding infidelity or heresy is not so widespread as the temptation to expose oneself to unchaste risk, not alone by reading, but by conversation, sight-seeing, imprudent visiting, etc. Self-sufficiency, or the supposed ability to "take care of oneself", is a prominent feature of adolescent character; and, although Pelagian at root, it infects seminary life to some extent, and so far makes spiritual direction ineffective. The development of natural will-power must be encouraged and fostered; but self-reliance in strong or violent temptation, or that which would lead into voluntary danger of sin, must be rigorously suppressed as wrong in principle and fatal not only to spiritual growth but to the spiritual life itself.

Some modern Catholics denounce vehemently all attempt at higher ascetic training in the seminary, such as I have been recommending, and especially careful supervision and restriction of reading matter. "A priest," they say, "must be a man among men; he must mix in society to leaven it; he must know evil to fight it; he must have read that *strong* novel to point out its danger to 'babes and sucklings'; he must know embryology and obstetrics, be an expert on social questions of the hour, elbow his way to every platform where he can get a hearing, and so widen the influence of the Church and the priesthood. Such a priest cannot be brought up on a sucking-bottle; he cannot be reared in a hothouse; it is a crime to keep him in ignorance of the world where he is to work and fight and conquer for Christ."

A fascinating vision, beyond doubt, but evanescent and unsubstantial. We all know such a priest; and what we know of him is not to his credit. He is too much engaged abroad to attend to his primary duties at home. His parish is a side-issue, with ignorance that he does not enlighten, scandals that he does not remove, dissensions that he does not heal. He is scarcely ever seen in his school; never catechizes his children; preaches ethics instead of the Gospel; is seldom at home, except to the rich and fashionable; visits the sick and dying but once during their illness, and then plentifully supplied with disinfectants. He is gruff and insolent to the poor, but smiling and gracious to those who call in their broughams. And what is the sum of the good he does in society or on the platform?

Whom has he converted to Catholic views or principles? Does he rebuke that divorced woman whom he has taken in to dinner? Does he silence the serpent tongue of his next neighbor at table? Does he tell his millionaire host that his wealth is robbed from the investors whom he duped into buying his watered stocks?

The priest whom the seminary undertakes to turn out is of an opposite class. Like the great High Priest that hath passed into the Heavens, he is poor in spirit; he goes about doing good; he has compassion on the multitude and ministers to their wants; he is the servant of the poor, for the Church will always have the poor with her! he is hated by the world, because he is a true apostle and reformer, and he tells the world disquieting, unpleasant truths; he fears not men, and he seeks not to please them, for if he pleased them, he would not be the servant of Christ; he has a flock appointed to him, and he gives his life for it in devoted loyal service. The seminary prepares him for this work, chiefly by keeping him in closest communion and intercourse with his Divine Master and Model, until he can say in some measure with St. Paul: "Vivo, jam non ego; sed vivit in me Christus."

And if the seminary strains every nerve to raise the young cleric to a high perfection, there is nothing forced or factitious about it, and her motive is her keen realization of the eminent sanctity befitting one who is to be brought daily into the most intimate personal contact with Jesus under the white Sacramental Veil.

Trustworthiness.

It is, beyond all comparison, more important and necessary —I might even say, essential—that a seminary turn out *trustworthy* priests than that it turn out *learned* or even *ascetic* priests. The reason is that the highest interests of humanity are committed to him; and it is in his power to betray those interests, and even to turn means of salvation into agencies of moral corruption. And there neither is, nor can be, any adequate supervision. He can celebrate Mass and administer the Sacraments without the requisite intention. He can give false decisions and directions in the tribunal of Penence. He can let vice grow unchecked in his parish; admit

uninstructed children to Sacraments; preach pew rent instead of the Gospel, Sunday after Sunday; and live a slothful, self-indulgent life, provided he discharges the few official duties prescribed by Canon Law.

Let us look at his responsibilities from another point of view. He is sent to a parish to represent Jesus Christ in it, by his character, by his work, and by his teaching. (1) *By his character.* He is to be meek and humble of heart; self-denying and mortified; single-hearted and absorbed in the work of his Master; poor in spirit, if not in reality; gentle and merciful; clean of heart; patient and forgiving under persecution; faithful; courageous; calm and self-possessed; self-sacrificing; and above all a model of charity. (2) *By his work.* He is to go about doing good. He is to do all things well. He is to preach the Gospel to the poor; convert the sinner from his evil ways; instruct the ignorant, and especially the young; comfort those in sorrow or trouble; pay daily visits to the sick and dying; be open-handed to every appeal of charity. (3) *By his teaching.* He must preach the Gospel as the Holy Ghost wrote it—with the Word made flesh, "Jesus Christ, and Him Crucified," the central Figure. He must give his people a systematic, intelligent knowledge of their religion; and yet his end must be, not knowledge, but love and faithful service. He must make faith the basis and philosophy of life and duty, hope and love, their motive, reward, and end.

To be intrusted with such tremendous interests and responsibilities, a priest must have proved himself eminently trustworthy. It is not enough that he is proficient in the sacred sciences; for such proficiency is by no means incompatible with a vicious life. It is not enough that he has observed the discipline of the seminary during his course; for regular conduct in presence of a superior is no guarantee of regular conduct behind his back. We all know that the morning meditation in the seminary does not insure the continuance of the practice during vacation. Neither is it always enough that a seminarian be distinguished for asceticism all through his course. There are some characters, like parasitic plants, capable of healthy, vigorous growth, but only when they have some external support to cling to. They are models of piety in the

seminary; but on the mission they are mostly failures. Of course, all seminarians remarkable for piety are not weak and parasitic. The majority, perhaps, are men of solid, well-balanced judgment and firm, decisive will, who realize the paramount necessity of vigorous spiritual growth in the seminary to attain the eminent sanctity which should condition incorporation in the Eternal Priesthood of Jesus Christ.

What then is necessary to develop trustworthiness in the seminary? One thing only: training. From the first day after a student's entrance, begin to exercise him in personal responsibility. Give him some trivial charge, say the order and cleanliness of his rooms. Grade the various offices—prefect, sacristan, bell-ringer, librarian, etc.—and try him in each. Sometimes a rector has difficulty in finding suitable persons for the different offices. How, therefore, as a conscientious priest, can he have any hesitation in debarring from Orders those who cannot be trusted, say with the altar wine? Or how can he promote even to Tonsure one to whom he cannot confide some petty institutional work? What promise does such student give of fidelity to the tremendous responsibilities of the priesthood? Even as an object-lesson seminary management ought to be logical.

There is no office in the seminary that should not be filled by each student in turn; and faithful discharge of it should be a cast-iron condition of getting a place in the next Order list.

The artificial, quasi-monastic system of seminary life has to be modified considerably, but with great prudence, to make it merge and vanish insensibly into the future life of the mission. Jesus, who knew what was in man, and therefore surely knew best how he should be trained, imposed no artificial restraint on His Apostles; and certainly did not set one to watch another in His little community. From the beginning, He seems to have awakened in them a keen sense of responsibility, a generous spirit of sacrifice and a deep personal love for Himself. After laying this foundation, He set them at perfect ease in His company, encouraged freedom and spontaneity of action, excused them from fasting, permitted them to throw off the vexatious bonds of rabbinical traditions, told them He had not come to be served but to serve, to make them His friends, not His slaves; and in proof He girded Himself

with a towel and washed their feet the night before His death. We find no evidence that advantage was taken of this condescension. On the contrary, it intensified their love of Him; for when He proposed to cross over from Peres to Bethany to raise Lazarus from the dead, exposing Himself thereby to imminent danger from the Jewish priests, St. Thomas said to his fellow disciples: "Eamus et nos, ut moriamur cum eo." [10]

Is there not something to learn for the management of a seminary in this informal, familiar, affectionate intercourse between our Divine Lord and His Apostles? Rules and regulations are of course necessary for sake of order and of training in ecclesiastical obedience. Something artificial too will always be found in community life, and may be made helpful in preparing for the aloofness, and reserve, and self-discipline, and more or less singularity that must characterize a celibate priesthood. Rules and unpleasant restrictions are no doubt necessary; but their pressure and oppressiveness and hindrance of character-development would be removed, were they enforced with love instead of harshness, with discretion instead of temper, and above all by a kind father instead of an arbitrary master.

The Apostles' abandonment of all things, their privations, and hardships were sweetened and alleviated by the example of Jesus, who demanded of His followers no sacrifice in which He Himself did not share. Would that the same could be said of those who represent Him in the training of His twentieth-century apostles! All together at chapel exercises; one common board and fare; recreation in and out-doors in common; frequent individual intercourse; equal simplicity in furniture and decoration of bed and sitting-room; relations of master and pupil merged in those of father and son—let us pray and hope for all this, as the storm-swept seaman prays and hopes for the dawn, of which he yet sees no sign in the east. Better still: let each one work as well as pray for it within the sphere of his own office.

Without at least some semblance of common life cemented more or less closely by sympathy, affection, and coöperation,

[10] John 11:16.

seminarians may not be expected to develop that sincere, ingrained trustworthiness which would justify their promotion to the priesthood.

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[TO BE CONTINUED.]

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BISHOP KETTELER AS A DEFENDER OF THE LIBERTY AND AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

WHILST Ketteler was engaged in the great work of the spiritual regeneration of his diocese, his enemies were by no means inactive. They pressed on him from all sides and, like the Jews when rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, he was obliged "to do the work with one hand, and with the other to hold the sword". In the public press and from the platform the Liberal agitators attacked him with the fiercest animosity. No lie was too brazen, no calumny too black, no insinuation too poisonous for the *Frankfurter Journal*, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and the *Mainzeitung*, to take up and fling at the great Bishop.

How was it possible for a man of Ketteler's type, whose life was immaculate, whose every action reflected the purity and sincerity of his soul, who spent himself and was spent in the service of his fellowmen, to be singled out to be the butt of such vile assaults? "If you disturb the muddy waters of a stagnant pool with the vigorous strokes of your oar," Baron von Hertling answers, "you need not be surprised if all the vermin, roused from their sloughy repose, turn angrily upon you." Another, and perhaps the principal, reason for the antagonism Hertling sees in the elements of which the Liberal party was composed in the 'fifties and 'sixties of the last century. The old Liberals had passed away. No line of demarcation yet divided the new Liberal bourgeoisie from the Social Democrats, organized and disciplined Labor from the rag-tag of the big cities. The proletariat was still the willing tool of Liberalism, especially wherever the latter gave vent to its anti-Catholic instincts. Liberalism gave the order, and the proletariat carried it out to suit its own tastes.[1]

[1] Hist.-Pol. Blaetter, vol. 124, p. 852 f.

So long as his own person was the object of these attacks and his episcopal dignity was not involved, Ketteler seldom troubled himself about them. His daily life, which all who would could observe, was the best armor of defence. But when the Church or her august Head or any of her doctrines, institutions or rights were assailed, no champion in the lists ever leveled lance with truer aim. Neither the reputed prowess nor the high station of his foe ever made him pause: he feared neither the clamors of the mob nor the frowns of kings. In him the words of the old Roman on the "justum et tenacem propositi virum" were verified: [2]

> Non civium ardor prava iubentium,
> Non vultus instantis tyranni
> Mente quatit solida.

With Nehemias he could say: "All these men thought to frighten us, thinking that our hands would cease from the work, and that we would leave off. Wherefore I strengthened my hands the more." [3]

When Minister Lamey, of Baden, set up the tyrannical formula, "Law is the public conscience superior to private consciences," Ketteler, in two able pamphlets, vindicated the rights of individual conscience and relegated the machinery of legislation to its proper sphere. When Minister Jolly, Lamey's successor, tried to force an archbishop of his own choice on the Catholics of Baden, it was the Bishop of Mainz who defended the electoral rights of the canons of Freiburg. When a number of "intellectuals" of Mainz disgraced a public festival by insulting the Franciscan Order and habit, Ketteler, in an "Open Letter to the Citizens of Mainz", taught them better manners and at the same time paid a glowing tribute to the Poverello of Assisi and his devoted sons. When the greatest pedagogical expert of the day, the free-thinking Adolf Diesterweg, began his campaign against the Christian school, Ketteler was the first to give the alarm and marshal the Catholic forces against him. In seven Pastoral Letters he took up the cause of the Holy Father, encouraged the Catholics to be firm in their allegiance to him and to contribute generously toward

[2] Horace, Car. III, 3.
[3] II Esdras 6:9.

his support when the Piedmontese usurper robbed him of his patrimony.

It would take us too far afield to give even a partial account of Ketteler's activity in defence of the Church, for during the twenty-seven years of his episcopate he wrote no less than ninety-two pastorals, brochures, pamphlets, and longer newspaper articles of a controversial or apologetic nature, not a few of the more important ones going through three and four and even seven editions. How, with all this, and his intense and unremitting pastoral solicitude, he found time to write his epoch-making works on the social question, was a subject of wonder even to those who were intimately acquainted with him. But it is high time that we take a closer view of these works themselves.

To Ketteler undoubtedly belongs the merit of having been the first to estimate at its proper value the social programme of the Liberal party. Before joining issue with them on this question, however, he thought it advisable to clear the way by a general settling of accounts. This he did in the work entitled "*Liberty, Authority, and the Church:* A Discussion of the Great Problems of the Day" (1862).

The success of the book was instantaneous. Before the end of the year seven editions were exhausted and it had been translated into French, Magyar, Spanish, and Czech. "This first larger work of the gifted Bishop of Mainz," says Pfülf, "is typical of all his literary activity: the size moderate, at most 260 pages small octavo; short chapters; the arrangement of the parts simple; the diction clear, in short, smooth sentences; with few and always brief foot-notes; intelligible to all, never fatiguing; not confusing, but illuminating; no unhealthy extremes, no appeals to the passions, but clear, logical trains of thought, clothed in words that could come only of a warm heart."[4] Some one has said of Ketteler that if he had not been one of the greatest bishops, he would have been one of the greatest journalists of all times. This peculiar talent of his is nowhere better displayed than in the work we are considering. It has been happily called "a leader in book-form".

[4] Pfülf, II, p. 161.

The author's purpose in writing *Liberty, Authority, and the Church* is set forth in a letter to the Countess Hahn-Hahn: "My little work must be in your hands by now; it was a long time appearing. I have handled some thorny questions, on which it is easy to go astray; but it seems to me they must be discussed and cleared up. The press has taken the lead in the fight against the Church and is doing fearful service in the cause of the devil. May God help us to confront it with an equally powerful press devoted to the service of truth! We are living in an entirely new world; evil is blazing new paths; good must also find new ways to fight evil: and God will help us in the end, if only we are not too miserable." [5]

Ketteler foresaw the approach of the great tempest. The lull which followed on the revolutionary days of 'forty-eight did not deceive him. The skirmishes on the banks of the Rhine, in Baden, Württemberg, and Hesse, were only preludes, rehearsals of the decisive struggle to be fought on the sands of Brandenburg. The Catholic forces must be drawn together; the plans of the enemy must be fathomed, and united action achieved. The strongest ally of the Church will be the Catholic press, if properly organized.[6] To the Catholic press, therefore, and to Catholic publicists the Bishop chiefly addresses himself. "In order to have a strong and united Catholic daily press," he says in the introductory chapter, "*clearness* is above all things necessary. *Clearness* as to our situation, the dangers that threaten us, the demands we must make on the *Zeitgeist; clearness* as to the true and the false, the just and the unjust in the aspirations of the age; *clearness* as to our own point of view. . . . To bring our by no means inconsiderable intellectual forces to bear with advantage on the enemy, we must know above all *what we want.*"

To aid in bringing about this much-needed clearness, Ketteler examines the favorite catch-words of the day in the light of the eternal principles of divine truth. He is a decided advocate of self-government and corporate rights; he combats absolutism and centralization, especially the absolutism practised by the Liberals under the guise of liberty. He claims

[5] *Briefe*, p. 273.

[6] Ketteler is the author of the famous dictum: "If St. Paul were alive to-day, he would publish a newspaper." Pfülf, III, p. 347.

for the Church liberty to administer her own affairs, but protests against confounding with this autonomy of the Church atheism of the State, disguised under the name of *separation*. He rejects Revolution, and to the State "by the grace of man" he opposes the State "by the grace of God", and the authority ordained by God for the civil as well as the ecclesiastical order. He emphasizes the social significance of the Christian family founded on and hallowed by the Sacrament of Matrimony, and demands liberty and protection for it against the encroachments of absolutism, especially in the shape of a Godless compulsory educational system. The social question in the more restricted sense of tne word is not treated, but the fundamental principles on which Catholic social action must be built up are exposed with the greatest warmth and persuasiveness.

With wonderful clearness and penetration he lays down the principles that should guide Catholics in the face of political and social novelties. He says:

In the first place, Catholics and the Catholic press must avoid everything calculated to make people believe that we regard certain institutions, certain social and political forms of other days, as inaccessible to improvement, or that we praise them unreservedly and hold them up to future generations as the only possible remedy for all the ills of society. Christian truths, it is true, primarily regard the moral progress of man; but social and political progress also depends on them, and no one can foresee what social or civil transformation Christianity will effect in mankind when once it shall have penetrated and informed all with its spirit.

Secondly, we must distinguish between the genuine and the counterfeit in the tendencies of the age in which we live, look to the Christian truths for the solution of the great problems of the day, and, by opposing these luminous truths to the deceptive mirages of the spirit of the age, pursue a high and noble ideal.

But in order not to stray from our course, we must, thirdly, whilst endeavoring, with all the enthusiasm, all the vigor and all the energy of which we are capable, to bring about the triumph of the Catholic view of life, at the same time devote ourselves humbly and wholeheartedly to the current of Catholic teaching. It is with the truths of revelation as with the axioms of mathematics, the laws of thought and the maxims of morality. All these laws, all these fundamental rules are in themselves unalterable; but how infinitely varied is their

application. With the same laws which the child observes in measuring his little slate, the savant computes the movements of the heavenly bodies. It is the same with the dogmas of the Church: they are truths revealed by God, the eternal Truth, and therefore like truth they are immutable. Whatever is true, is true eternally. Nevertheless they are but foundations, pillars upon which man must build his personal and his social life, guided by the hand of that Providence which directs the march of history. It is our duty to build up the whole life of the human race in all its manifold relations on the foundation-stones of these divine truths.

But the more anxious we are to become fellow-builders of this divine edifice, the more firmly must we ourselves take our stand on its God-laid foundations.[7]

In conclusion Ketteler, like another Paul, summons all the faithful to rise from sleep and arm themselves for the battle.

For this divine and salutary authority [of the Church] the spirit of the world wishes to substitute another. After robbing them of all true liberty, it would subject all men to the yoke of its own despotic law. It defrauds mankind of the sweet yoke of Christ and the authority ordained by Him, only to lay on it, with the aid of legislative majorities and the combined action of the press, a yoke of its own making.

This tendency has made prodigious headway in the world, and everywhere we see the enemies of the Church drawing in their nets in order to deprive Christianity as soon as possible of all freedom of motion in the future.

The first condition for the development of Christian life and thought in our day is that the Church, while remaining subject to the general laws of the State, be independent, and that to the school be assigned its proper place in relation to the family, the State, and the Church. The chief opponent of these legitimate claims is absolutism, old and new, but especially absolutism in its new dress, modern unbelieving Liberalism.

May the clergy understand the signs of the times and champion the cause of God not only with the old weapons on the old battlefields, but with all just and honest means at their disposal. Our Christian people must be instructed. They must be initiated into the great problems of the day; they must be made to see the boundless hypocrisy of modern Liberalism, to see through the diabolical plot to draw the school into the service of anti-Christianity. · From every pulpit

[7] *Freiheit, Autorität u. Kirche,* 5 ed., pp. 5 ff.

these questions must be discussed, and these thoughts developed; countless newspapers must spread them broadcast among the people. What could we not do if we had but a small portion of the zeal of the enemies of God, a zeal which impels them to rush breathlessly through the world to carry the poison of their doctrines into the remotest hamlet!

Not only the clergy, however, but all who love Christianity, must work in the same spirit. In the public press, in political assemblies, in the stations and walks of life, whatever they be, in which God has placed them, with all the means at their command, they must fight for the great interests of mankind. If it is disgraceful to court idleness when the enemy invades our country and our home to burn and to pillage, how much more disgraceful is it to stir neither hand nor foot while the highest goods of humanity are called into question!

Now that revolutionary absolutism is aiming at nothing less than to get hold of the reins of sovereign power in order to hurl our dear, good people into the abyss of infidelity and anarchy, is it not more beautiful, more glorious, more meritorious by far in the sight of God to take up arms for Christianity against such an enemy, than, in sluggish repose, to celebrate the high deeds of our ancestors, who marched to Jerusalem to rescue from the unbeliever the places made sacred by the Blood of Christ? He who remains indifferent in this struggle will one day at the tribunal of God hear those words addressed by the householder to the slothful laborers, "Why stood you there all the day idle?" [8]

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[TO BE CONTINUED.]

[8] L. c., pp. 145 ff. Matt. 20:6.

Analecta.

ACTA PII PP. X.

I.

Indulgentia Plenaria Perpetua ubique terrarum pro Associatione Catholica Internationali a Patrocinio Puellarum.

PIUS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.—Salutare illud Divini Magistri praeceptum animi repententes, qui voluit ut diligamus nos invicem, sicuti et Ipse dilexit nos, Apostolici muneris partem esse consemus, pias societates ad mutuam inter fideles caritatem fovendam exercendamque institutas, non modo probare, debitoque laudis praeconio prosequi, sed etiam coelestibus illis thesauris, quorum dispensationem Altissimus Nobis commisit, ultro libenterque locupletare atque augere. Hac mente cum Praesides Consociationis catholicae internationalis Operum pro patrocinio puellarum, Nos enixis precibus flagitaverint, ut tum fidelibus adlectis in Comitatus associationis ipsius, tum sodalibus operis, tum protectis plenariam indulgentiam quotannis die festo B. M. V. a Bono Consilio largiri dignemur, Nos votis his piis annuendum quantum in Domino possumus

existimavimus. Quae cum ita sint de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli App. Eius Auctoritate confisi, fidelibus in comitatu super enunciatae Consociationis ubique terrarum nunc et in posterum adlectis sive adlegendis, pariterque ubique terrarum praesentibus et futuris pii eiusdem operis tum sociis tum clientibus, qui, quovis anno admissorum confessione rite expiati atque angelorum dapibus refecti die festo B. M. Virginis a Bono Consilio, videlicet, die vigesimo sexto mensis Aprilis, vel Dominica immediate sequenti, quodvis templum, vel oratorium publicum a meridie diei praecedentis usque ad solis occasum, tum super enunciati diei vigesimi sexti mensis Aprilis tum sequentis Dominicae celebraverint, ibique pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Largimur insuper ut ipsis liceat, si malint, eadem plenaria indulgentia functorum vita labes poenasque expiare. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Volumus autem ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis, seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicuius notarii publici, seu personae in ecclesiastica dignitate munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die XIX Iunii MCMXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL,
a Secretis Status.

L. * S.

II.

AD R. P. IOSEPHUM BOUBÉE E SOC. IESU, MODERATOREM GENERALEM "APOSTOLATUS ORATIONIS".

Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—Multa quidem sunt catholicorum studio utilissime instituta ad haec tanta et tam varia sananda mala, quibus humani generis societas est affecta; at nihil utilius isto opere ac munere, cui te, dilecte fili, praeesse videmus. Quamvis enim solerter et acriter contendant nitanturque homines ad communem salutem, omnino perdunt operam, nisi eorum contentioni Deus adsit. Nam uti, quidquid sumus, quidquid habemus, omne ab

eo proficiscitur, ita bonorum omnium, quibus indigemus, ipse unus fons est; ipsum vero nulla nobis via, nisi obsecratione humili, patere, ex Evangelii doctrina quis ignorat? Ac vos, cum divinae bonitatis fiduciam vulgo ardoremque comprecandi excitare studetis, tum maxime in id intenditis curas, ut amantissimum Redemptorem nostrum cognoscant, quoad possint, homines et diligant, eiusque amore conglutinatis quodammodo voluntatibus, rationes Ecclesiae sanctae impensius tueantur. Ad hoc autem tantae opportunitatis assequendum propositum, quo quidem singulorum et reipublicae salutem contineri iudicamus, optime a vobis quinquaginta iam annos illud tamquam instrumentum adhibetur, *nuntius* qui dicitur *Sacri Cordis Iesu.* Nos commentarium huiusmodi, variis confectum linguis, lateque diffusum, multis millibus hominum esse in manibus, ob eamque rem sodalium, qui *Apostolatum Orationis* profitentur, mirabiliter numerum crevisse comperimus vehementerque gaudemus; facile est enim aestimare, quanto cum fructu christiani populi id fiat. Quare vobis gratulamur, vosque ut constanter in incepto perseveretis hortamur; atque auspicem divinorum munerum, apostolicam benedictionem tibi, dilecte fili, ceterisque consociationis istius moderatoribus et sodalibus, iis praesertim, qui memoratis commentariis scribendis dant operam, amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die IX mensis Aprilis MCMXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM.

I.

URBIS ET ORBIS.

Evulgato *Motu Proprio* Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Papae X *De diebus festis*, diei 2 Iulii vertentis anni, nonnulli Sacrorum Antistites, ne accidat, ut dies Octava S. Ioseph, in Dominicis privilegiatis Quadragesimae occurrens, nullam in Officio et Missa commemorationem accipiat, et Officium dierum infra Octavam, Tempore Passionis adveniente, saepius omitti debeat, ab Ipso Sanctissimo Domino Nostro instan-

tissime petierunt, ut ad augendum cultum erga S. Ioseph, Ecclesiae Universalis Patronum, Festum Eius die 19 Martii sine feriatione et sine Octava recolatur; Festum vero Patrocinii Eiusdem iuribus et privilegiis omnibus, quae Patronis principalibus competunt, augeatur, et sub ritu duplici primae classis cum Octava celebretur, prout iam in aliquibus locis et institutis recoli legitime consuevit; eo vel magis quod Tempus Paschale aptius recolendae solemnitati conveniat, et Festum idem in Dominica III post Pascha numquam impediri valeat.

Item Rmi Episcopi, quoad Solemnitatem Sanctissimi Corporis Christi, ab Eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro humillimis precibus postularunt, quod, remanente Feria V post Dominicam Ssmae Trinitatis Eius Festo, absque tamen feriatione, externa Solemnitas ad insequentem Dominicam transferatur.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster, referente infrascripto Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Secretario, audito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, huiusmodi votis clementer deferens, firmo remanente *Motu Proprio* quoad reliqua Festa, statuit et decrevit:

I. Festum Natale S. Ioseph, die 19 Martii, sine feriatione et sine Octava, sub ritu duplici primae classis recolatur, adhibito titulo: *Commemoratio Solemnis S. Ioseph, Sponsi B. M. V., Confessoris.*

II. Festum Patrocinii Eiusdem S. Ioseph Dominica III post Pascha, sub ritu duplici I classis cum Octava, addita Festi primarii qualitate, recolatur sub titulo: *Solemnitas S. Ioseph, Sponsi B. M. V., Confessoris, Ecclesiae Universalis Patroni.*

III. Diebus infra Octavam et die Octava Solemnitatis S. Ioseph adhibeatur Officium, uti prostat in Appendice Octavarii Romani.

IV. Festum Sanctissimae Trinitatis, Dominicae I post Pentecosten affixum, amodo sub ritu duplici primae classis recolatur.

V. Festum Sanctissimi Corporis Christi celebretur, absque feriatione, sub ritu duplici primae classis et cum Octava privilegiata, ad instar Octavae Epiphaniae, Feria V post Dominicam Ssmae Trinitatis, adhibito titulo: *Commemoratio Solemnis Sanctissimi Corporis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi.*

VI. Dominica infra Octavam huius festivitatis, in Ecclesiis Cathedralibus et Collegiatis, recitato Officio cum relativa Missa de eadem Dominica, unica Missa solemnis cani potest, uti in Festo, cum *Gloria*, unica Oratione, Sequentia, *Credo* et Evangelio S. Ioannis in fine. Ubi vero non adsit Missae Conventualis obligatio, addatur sola commemoratio Dominicae sub distincta conclusione, eiusque Evangelium in fine. Hac vero Dominica peragatur solemnis Processio cum Ssmo Sacramento, praescripta in Caeremoniali Episcoporum, lib. II, cap. XXXIII.

VII. Feria VI post Octavam celebretur, ut antea, Festum Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu, sub ritu duplici primae classis.

Valituro praesenti Decreto etiam pro Familiis Regularibus et Ecclesiis, ritu latino a Romano diverso utentibus. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque, etiam speciali mentione dignis.

Die 24 Iulii 1911.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

✠ Petrus La Fontaine, Epis. Charystien., *Secretarius.*

II.

DECRETUM.

Ad quasdam liturgicas questiones de diebus Festis nuper propositas enodandas, inspecto *Motu Proprio* Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Papae X diei 2 Iulii vertentis anni 1911, una cum subsequenti Decreto *Urbis et Orbis* Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis diei 24 eiusdem mensis et anni, Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, atque approbante Ipso Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, haec statuit ac declaravit:

I. Quum Festum Nativitatis S. Ioannis Baptistae in posterum celebrandum sit Dominica immediate antecedente Festum Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ac proinde duae Octavae simul occurrere possint; hoc in casu agatur Officium de Octava Nativitatis S. Ioannis cum commemoratione Octavae Ss. Apostolorum.

II. Vigilia Nativitatis S. Ioannis Baptistae affigatur Sabbato ante Dominicam quae praecedit Festum Ss. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Quando in hoc Sabbato simul occurrant

Vigilia Nativitatis S. Ioannis et Vigilia Ss. Apostolorum, fiat Officium de prima, cum commemoratione alterius in Missa tantum. Si vero in hoc Sabbato incidat Festum sive Officium ritus duplicis aut semiduplicis, nona lectio erit de Vigilia Nativitatis S. Ioannis, et in Missa fiat commemoratio utriusque Vigiliae.

III. In Ecclesiis Cathedralibus et Collegiatis, in casu praecedenti, dicatur post Nonam Missa de Vigilia Nativitatis S. Ioannis cum commemoratione Vigiliae Ss. Apostolorum. Si vero occurrat Festum IX lectionum, dicantur duae Missae Conventuales, una de Officio currenti post Tertiam, altera de Vigilia Nativitatis S. Ioannis post Nonam, cum commemoratione Vigiliae Ss. Apostolorum.

IV. Si Festum Nativitatis S. Ioannis Baptistae incidat in diem 28 Iunii, secundae Vesperae integrae erunt de hac solemnitate, cum commemoratione sequentis Festi Ss. Apostolorum, iuxta Rubricas.

V. Quum ex Decreto supracitato diei 24 Iulii 1911 ad instar Octavae Epiphaniae sit privilegiata Octava Commemorationis solemnis Sanctissimi Corporis D. N. I. C., infra hanc Octavam prohibentur etiam, tum Missae votivae pro sponsis, tum Missae cum cantu de Requie pro prima vice post obitum, vel eius acceptum nuntium; die vero Octava prohibentur Missae privatae de Requie, quae die, vel pro die obitus alias cum exequiali Missa permittuntur.

VI. Missa cum cantu de Requie die, vel pro die obitus, aut depositionis, praesente, insepulto, vel etiam sepulto, non ultra biduum, cadavere, vetita est in sequentibus Festis nuper suppressis, nempe Commemorationis solemnis Sanctissimi Corporis Christi, Annuntiationis B. M. V., Commemorationis solemnis S. Ioseph, et Patroni loci.

VII. Item praedicta Missa inhibetur in Festis Solemnitatis S. Ioseph, Sanctissimae Trinitatis, et in Dominica in quam transfertur solemnitas externa Commemorationis Ssmi Sacramenti.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque, etiam speciali mentione dignis.

Die 28 Iulii 1911.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus.*

✠ Petrus La Fontaine, Epis. Charystien., *Secretarius.*

III.

Decretum super Interpretatione Motus Proprii "Inter multiplices".

Super legitima interpretatione art. II, n. 14 et 34 et art. III, n. 43, in Motu Proprio *Inter multiplices*, diei 21 Februarii 1905, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sequens quaestio proposita fuit:

An Canonicus rite adscriptus Capitulo, quod collegialiter gaudet privilegiis seu insignibus et iuribus ad Protonotarios Apostolicos, vel supranumerarios, vel ad instar participantium pertinentibus, ius aliquod acquisierit, quo inter Praelatos Domesticos cum expeditione Brevis recenseatur?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, audito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, reque accurato examine perpensa rescribendum censuit:

Negative, et adscriptionem coetui Praelatorum Domesticorum unice pendere ex benigna liberalitate Summi Pontificis, attentis, in singulis casibus, omnibus circumstantiis et specialibus meritis personae.

Quam resolutionem, Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X per infrascriptum Cardinalem eidem Sacro Consilio Praefectum relatam, Sanctitas Sua ratam habuit et probavit; simulque eiusmodi interpretationem tamquam veram et authenticam declaravit.

Die 24 Maii 1911.

Fr. S. Card. Martinelli, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

✠ Petrus La Fontaine, Epis. Charystien., *Secretarius.*

IV.

Nova Dubia.

Ab hodierno Kalendarista Dioecesis Baionensis, praehabito consensu Revmi Episcopi eiusdem Dioeceseos, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi nova quaedam dubia pro opportuna solutione reverenter exposita sunt; videlicet:

I. Ubi Festum Titularis ex longaeva consuetudine celebratur ad instar Patronorum, Dominica infra Octavam eiusdem cum concursu populi, per unam Missam solemnem de

Festo cum commemoratione Dominicae, utrum solemnitas S. Ioannis Baptistae Titularis in eamdem Dominicam incidens ac solemnitas Ss. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli in Galliis praeceptiva, debeat huic praeferri, vel in aliam subsequentem Dominicam reponi, utpote non praeceptiva, sed tantum permissa?

II. Utrum laico Missae inservienti ministrari possit Sacra Communio intra Presbyterium et in ora suppedanei Altaris, etiamsi non sit indutus habitu clericali?

III. Utrum preces post Missam privatam iussu Leonis XIII dicendae, omitti debeant post Missam votivam lectam de SS. Corde Iesu, prima cuiusque mensis feria VI celebratam cum privilegiis Missae votivae solemnis pro re gravi?

IV. Quando celebrans ad Vesperas coram SSmo Sacramento exposito Officium facit ad scamnum, debetne, cum accedit ante medium Altaris ad Magnificat, genuflectere unico genu super infimum gradum, vel utroque genu in plano?

V. Quum cantantur Vesperae coram SSmo Sacramento exposito, utrum celebrans possit a principio amictu, alba, stola et pluviali indutus Officium facere, eique Diaconus et Subdiaconus alba, dalmatica et tunica induti assistere a principio Vesperarum, ratione Processionis immediate post Vesperas instituendae, praesertim in Ecclesiis quae pluribus carent pluvialibus pro assistentibus?

VI. Utrum in Quadragesima, quando Vesperae immediate post Missam solemnem cantantur, celebrans possit pluviali super albam et stolam indutus Officium facere cum assistentia Diaconi et Subdiaconi dalmatica et tunica indutorum?

VII. Utrum iuxta Decreta 23 Novembris 1906, *Dubia* ad XI, et 1 Februarii 1907, Eremitarum Camaldulensium Montis Coronae ad X, Oratio *Deus cuius misericordiae non est numerus* in Functione Tridui vel Octidui intra annum post Beatificationem vel Canonizationem, cantari debeat ante *Tantum ergo*, vel in hoc casu servari debeat specialis dispositio Decreti 16 Decembris 1902, ad VI, super privilegiis Octidui vel Tridui concedi solitis?

VIII. Utrum Novendialis supplicatio quae, ex Litteris Encyclicis Leonis PP. XIII, *Divinum illud munus*, diei 9 Maii 1897, Festum Pentecostes praecedere debet, incipi debeat feria VI infra Octavam Ascensionis Domini, ut terminetur in ipsa Vigilia Pentecostes, vel possit iuxta praxim huius Dioeceseos

incipi tantum Sabbato, ita ut finem habeat novendialis supplicatio ipso die Festo Pentecostes?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, audita Commissionis Liturgicae sententia, omnibus sedulo perpensis, ita respondendum censuit:

Ad I. In casu praeferatur solemnitas Ss. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli in Galliis praeceptiva.

Ad II. Affirmative.

Ad III. Missa de qua in precibus habeatur uti solemnis, eique applicari potest Decretum num. 3697, *Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum S. Francisci*, 7 Decembris 1888, ad VII.

Ad IV. Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.

Ad V. Negative.

Ad VI. Negative.

Ad VII. Satis provisum in Decreto citato.

Ad VIII. Affimative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 8 Iunii 1911.

Fr. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

✠ Petrus La Fontaine, Ep. Charystien., *Secretarius.*

ROMAN CURIA.

PONTIFICAL APPOINTMENTS.

The Holy Father, by Decree of the S. Congregation of Consistory, appointed:

13 May, 1911. The Rev. Patrick Morrisroe, Dean of Maynooth College, to the episcopal see of Achonry (Ireland).

8 June, 1911. The Rev. Joseph Patrick Lynch, Rector of St. Edward's Church in Dallas, to the episcopal see of Dallas, Texas.

19 June, 1911. The Rev. Michael O'Dougherty, Rector of the Irish College in Salamanca, and priest of the Diocese of Achonry, to the episcopal see of Zamboanga (Philippine Islands).

1 July, 1911. The Rev. John E. Gunn, of the Society of Mary, Rector of the Church of the Sacred Heart in Atlanta, diocese of Savannah, to the episcopal see of Natchez, Mississippi.

Studies and Conferences.

OUR ANALECTA.

The Roman documents for the month are:

PONTIFICAL ACTS: 1. Plenary Indulgence is granted in behalf of the International Catholic Association for the Protection of Girls, throughout the world.

2. Letter to the Rev. Joseph Boubée, S.J., Moderator General of the Apostleship of Prayer.

S. CONGREGATION OF RITES: 1. Some modifications of the Motu proprio on the observance of feast days of precept.

2. Further amendments of the provisions of the same Motu proprio.

3. Interpretation of the Motu proprio *Inter multiplices,* 21 February, 1905, concerning the privileges and rights of cathedral canons.

4. Answers to eight doubts on points of liturgy.

ROMAN CURIA: List of recent official appointments.

TWO CATHOLIC SUMMER SCHOOLS.

The Report of the First Series of Summer Courses in Philosophy, Letters, and Science, given at the Catholic University during the month of July[1] for the benefit of our "Teaching Sisterhoods and other women, not religious, who are teachers in public or private schools," marks a distinct advance toward the unifying of the educational systems of our parish schools.

The teachers in our Catholic primary and secondary schools are drawn almost exclusively from the several Religious Communities of women whose institutes make instruction of children one of their chief, if not their sole, service. Since these institutes have had their origin in diverse local needs and conditions it is but a natural consequence of the conflux and development of religious teaching communities in the United States that there should be a diversity of method, if not of

[1] See Catholic Educational Review, September, 1911, pp. 593 and 658.

aim, in the educational systems adopted by the different Religious Orders in charge of our elementary schools.

To eliminate these differences with a view to securing a uniformly graded system of training in these schools is no small undertaking. Indeed it may not even, under certain given conditions, be desirable, since the very efficiency of our teaching body arises to some extent from the enthusiasm and *esprit de corps* that attaches to the traditional methods handed down to the members by a Rule which they must regard as sacred. Besides this admiration for the high standard of the Founder's mind, there is the habit acquired during the years of novitiate which tends in the direction of traditional pedagogical methods. The question in particular of various standards, e. g., when they are represented by communities of distinctly national origin, is by no means an easy matter to deal with in practice; and whilst the aim at religious perfection bids us ignore national differences in community life, the saints on earth are apt to retain in their catalogue of virtues a sense of patriotism which makes them sensitive about adopting methods not sanctioned by their traditions, whatever learned professors may say to smooth the path of pedagogics. Our superintendents of parish schools can bear witness to the difficulties which this phase of their efforts to unify our school system must have revealed and in many places still meets.

Now, Monsignor Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University, with commendable enterprise has taken a step by which much of this fundamental difficulty in the way of unification is being bridged over. He has brought together the religious interested in the teaching of our parish schools, for the purpose, we may say, of calling attention to certain points of view essential to the Catholic teacher; of warning against false pedagogical principles and their application; of giving directions tending toward a proper estimate of the opportunities of the Catholic teacher in the performance of her task; and of suggesting, by the very fact of conferences held, methods of unification which must eventually react upon the cause of Catholic education in a broader sense. This, rather than any positive intellectual advantage accruing from the instructions given during the brief school session from July

2nd to August 8th, seems to us to be the actual gain of the movement for the present. Doubtless the school also establishes a connexion between the central teaching staff of the University, recognized on all hands as authoritative, and the religious teaching bodies in America, a connexion which will serve to make clearer the fundamental principles of true education, as well as point out (and this needs to be emphasized) the danger of adopting what seem to be harmless methods, when in reality they are applications of false philosophical principles, or the danger of fostering the false impression that such methods are "based on the finding of exact research".

Twenty-three Religious Orders, represented by two hundred and fifty-five nuns, attended the sessions; and there were twenty-nine lay teachers. Incidentally the advantages, apart from the lecture courses, offered to visitors are not to be underestimated. Many religious found opportunity of informing themselves about progress in educational matters by the interchange of opinions, the visiting of libraries and laboratories, for which the neighborhood of the University offers exceptional facilities. There can be no doubt of the good that is thus done to unify the parish school system, and thereby of course our secondary education. The benefits are well set forth in an article by the Rector of the University in the current *Catholic Educational Review* to which we hereby invite attention.

While the First Session of the Summer School of the Catholic University was being held in the Divinity and McMahon Halls at Washington, the Catholic Summer School of America at Cliff Haven was at the height of its season in the matter of attendance. The two institutions must not be classed in the same category. Although the Catholic Summer School of America at one time cumulatively aimed at supplying what the Catholic University summer course now offers to religious teachers as a distinct class, and while the Cliff Haven assembly still includes that purpose in its general program, its scope is much broader than and its methods are very different from those of the Catholic University. Comparisons have a way of being construed as odious. We have no mind to make our estimate of the two schools represented as important educational forces detract one from the other. They

supplement rather than stand in the way of each other. It is the chief purpose of the Catholic Summer School at Cliff Haven, as we understand it, to bring together certain elements of Catholic society which will act as a leavening body in the sphere of intellectual, moral, and religious culture, to the communities wherein they habitually live. Naturally these elements are to be sought in the first place among our teachers, the men and women of the laity who instruct, outside the parish schools conducted by members of religious communities—teachers in state institutions, colleges, and universities, private teachers, teachers of music, art, literature, economics, and that large proportion of men and women who furnish information through various channels of ephemeral literature, or who aspire to and are preparing for any of the above-mentioned spheres of action, whether it be to gain a livelihood or simply to employ their leisure and talents in a way congenial with their position in life.

For these classes, broadly taken, the Catholic Summer School of America offers opportunities so exceptional in possibilities as to outreach by far, if attained, the actual influence of any university or institution that appeals exclusively to those who labor in the class-rooms of the parish school. It would be hard to overestimate the potential good there is in the Cliff Haven School if its members but carry out the important lessons received during a course of lectures by capable professors under the most favorable surroundings.

The advantage of the Cliff Haven Summer School lies in its scope, the duration of its term, the character of the teachers, the informal methods and varied opportunities of discussion; likewise in the difference of the classes of people who attend, in their associations and the sphere in which those who have learnt anything are prompted to make use of their acquisitions after leaving the Summer School. For indeed the scope of the School at Cliff Haven is not limited to didactic themes or methods; its lecture courses take in every possible variety of intellectual, esthetic, and moral culture that is beneficial to the Catholic man or woman in any sphere of social life. The present year's course is typical in this respect. It opens with a suggestive lecture on the "Problems of Life". The principles on which the solution of that problem depends are set

forth in a second series of lectures on Ethics. This series receives practical application in an exposition of a Catholic Social Program, which sets forth the uses of organization, the press, and education, in bettering the conditions of society. Now these fundamentals in social education are further illustrated by a number of attractive lectures on political history, with charity (hospital) work, with the fine arts, letters, the drama, music, all finding their chief motive of illustration in those refined moral instincts which Catholic faith supplies. In truth every phase of ideal, national, and personal greatness was discussed in the inviting manner given to it by men and women who stand forth as representatives in their respective fields both of knowledge and the gift of attractive presentation.

In all these manifold and practical fields of information the lecturers find opportunities of directing attention toward the Catholic position, correcting erroneous preconceptions, suggesting sources of supplementary information and means of making it effective in the professional arena, in the social circle, in the parish, and in the home.

What is of even greater importance is the occasion afforded the members to discuss in a familiar way at the " round table " or in the pleasant recesses of the beautiful grounds the topics dealt with in the lecture course. The social side which keeps people together, not only during the brief periods of the public assemblies in the lecture halls, but for weeks at a time, in the same cottages, where every dweller is a host and every caller a welcome guest, offers convenient chances for instruction and for gathering information regarding things of importance in Catholic social life; chances which cannot be imagined as possible under other circumstances. Under such conditions the results attained by the Catholic Summer School within the past twenty years of its existence, must be considered as simply inestimable. Not that anyone, if disposed to do so, could not point out flaws. They are in the very nature of the enterprise, and they are in truth essential in every effort to clarify. The greatest asset of the School is the fact that it has a definite foundation, that it is not a mere hope, but a reality with concrete elements and immensely potent factors for influencing the life of Catholics within its

reach during the years to come. No one who has seen the School in operation can fail to be impressed with this fact, and it is a wise policy on the part of churchmen who look to the leavening of society which cannot always be accomplished by the clergy, to take foothold at Cliff Haven, as some of our Bishops have done, by urging the establishment of diocesan centres and maintaining an interest in their houses, which is equivalent to guardianship of faith and morals among the best and most active classes of our laity.

The success of Cliff Haven indicates real progress, which cannot be said of every laudable undertaking. It is due not to one man, but to many leaders who have taken their turn in promoting its work. Each of its past presidents has had to meet difficulties which only unselfish service could overcome. Its directors and managers have given their time, mind, industry, and in many cases their money, to further a cause which did not from the outset meet the intelligent enthusiasm which it called for. To-day it is a magnificent monument, a power-house of Catholic strength in our land, which we believe will eventually rule by its influence for good under the management of men such as have hitherto watched over its growth.

THE REQUISITE FORM OF A SCAPULAR MEDAL.

Qu. I am sending you a medal, which is distributed and claimed as a Scapular-Medal. From the words of the Decree printed on page 454, in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW of April, 1911, one is forced to believe that this medal is not according to the intention of that Decree.

Now if this style of Scapular-Medal is permissible for one kind of scapular, such as that of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, would it not be correct to have medals with images representing the other scapulars included in the Decree of 16 December, 1910?

If medals such as I enclose are not correct the REVIEW will do a great good in expressing its opinion, which is always reliable on matters of this kind. W. B. D.

Resp. The medal referred to in the above query bears on one side the profile of the head of Christ called "Salvator Mundi"; on the reverse is the figure of Our Lady of Mt.

Carmel. Since the Decree of the Holy Office (16 December, 1910; see ECCL. REVIEW, April, 1911, pp. 454-455) requires that medals used as a substitute for the scapulars should have the image of the Saviour showing His Sacred Heart on the obverse and the figure of Our Blessed Lady on the reverse side, the above-mentioned medal is manifestly not of the kind to which the scapular indulgences can be transferred.

As for medals representing the different scapulars bearing distinct images, there appears to be no restriction, provided the images be those of Christ showing the Sacred Heart, and of Our Blessed Lady, in any of the approved characteristic forms used in sacred iconography.

BISHOP MACDONALD'S ANSWER TO HIS CRITIC REGARDING THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE MASS TO THE LEVITICAL SACRIFICE.

In the September number of the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW a writer asked a question regarding Bishop MacDonald's theory of the correspondence of the Sacrifice of the New Law to the salient features of the levitical sacrifices, which were: "(1) the offering and consecration of the living victim (= the Last Supper); (2) the immolation (= Calvary); (3) the ceremonial offering or formal handing over to God of the victim slain, by the carrying of the blood into the sanctuary, and the pouring out or sprinkling of it about the altar (= Mass); (4) the feast upon the sacrifice (= Communion). The first three of these are essential; the fourth is merely integrating."

On this our correspondent asked: Is not our warrant for what we do at Mass the commission of Christ: "Do this in commemoration of Me"? "The thing Christ did was to consecrate bread and wine into His Body and Blood. That same thing, by His commission, the priest does at Mass. Thus it seems to follow that number (1) above is identical with number (3). If these two steps are different, then we do something more (or something else) at Mass than the commission of Christ warrants us to do."

To this Bishop MacDonald replies as follows:

The two steps do not differ essentially, and we do neither more nor less than the commission of Christ warrants us.

True, the action differs in its liturgical significance. Then it was the consecration and offering of the living Victim; now it is the consecration and offering, in the Christian sanctuary, of the victim slain "without the gate". Also the manner of offering differs. Then He offered Himself by His own hands mortal and passible; now He offers Himself by our hands, immortal and impassible. Yet is the sacrifice one and the same, not only because the Priest is still the same, and the Victim the same, but because the Action of the sacrifice is the same. I can do no better than quote here what I have written elsewhere:

"Sacrifice in the formal sense is an action—the action of the priest who consecrates and offers visibly. Our Lord consecrated and offered Himself at the Last Supper a Victim to be slain; He now consecrates and offers Himself by the hands of His priests as the Victim once slain; and so the manner of offering differs. But the offering itself, the act of consecration is numerically the same in both, and so the sacrifice remains numerically one and the same. It is still Christ who consecrates, for He is the High Priest of the Mass; the ministering priest does but lend his hands and his voice. Franzelin cites Cardinal Cienfuegos as affirming that the sacrificial act on the cross and on all altars is numerically one. It is not by virtue of a new action that Christ consecrates, but by virtue of the Action once for all performed in the upper room. The act of the Eternal is, like Himself, eternal, and has everlasting efficacy. Christ's Action instituted the Sacrifice; Christ's Action perpetuates the Sacrifice. "The word (*Hoc est corpus meum*)," says St. John Chrysostom, "once spoken, from that time to the present and unto His coming perfects the Sacrifice on every altar." [1]

Ah, words of the olden Thursday,
Ye come from the far away!
Ye bring us the Friday's Victim
In His own love's olden way.
In the hands of the priest at the altar
His Heart finds a home each day.[2]

[1] Hom. in Prod. Iud., l. c.
[2] Father Ryan.

The Word of God spoke at the first institution of things, and things came into being, and things continue to be by virtue of the Word. The Word of God spoke at the institution of our Sacrifice, and the Sacrifice came into being, and the Sacrifice continues to be by virtue of the Word. And so the Holy Mass prolongs forever, and presents on every altar from the rising of the sun to its going down, both the Sacrifice of Calvary and the Feast upon the Sacrifice. Therefore the doctrine of the One Offering, as laid down in the Epistle to the Hebrews, stands firm on the foundation which Christ Himself laid for it in the Last Supper. He is a Priest forever after the order of Melchisedec, forever offering His Sacrifice under the forms of bread and wine upon our atlars." [3]

✠ ALEXANDER MACDONALD.

Victoria, B. C.

THE BLESSING OF WINE IN THE NUPTIAL SERVICE OF THE ROMAN PONTIFICAL.

Qu. In the rubrics of the *Pontificale Romanum*, Vol. III, p. 343, in the "Ritus Pontificalis pro celebrando Sacramento Matrimonii", among other things prescribed to be prepared is "vas cum vino, et mappula pro illorum (sponsi et sponsae) purificatione". Will you please inform me whether such a ceremony is performed at present, or whether it has gone into disuse? EPISCOPUS.

Resp. In the rubrics which precede the "Ritus Pontificalis pro celebrando Sacramento Matrimonii" we read: "paretur etiam . . . vas cum vino et mappula pro illorum (sponsi et sponsae) purificatione; instrumentum ad osculum pacis cum velo," etc. As there is nothing in the actual rites or ceremonies which follow the rubric in question to indicate that these things, namely the vessel with wine and the napkin, are given to the newly married, we may assume that their use, as well as that of the "instrumentum pacis" mentioned in the same rubric, was not obligatory, but that they were required only where custom called for them. Moreover, at the end of the ceremony described in the *Pontificale* we read: "Caeterum si quae Provinciae *aliis* laudabilibus consuetu-

[3] *Religious Questions of the Day*, Vol. III, pp. 318-319.

dinibus Matrimonii sacramento utuntur, eas Sancta Tridentina Synodus optat retineri."

It may be presumed, therefore, that, since the *Pontificale* mentions the use of wine "pro purificatione" on the occasion of the nuptial blessing given by the bishop in church, such a custom, although unknown to us at the present time, of giving some blessed wine to the newly married, did exist in Italy at the time when the *Pontificale* was composed. This surmise is confirmed by Franz, in his *Die Kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*[1] who mentions several Ritual MSS. of the fifteenth century which contain this rubric, some of which no doubt served as a basis for the transcription of the *Liber Pontificalis* by John Burchard of Strassburg and Augustin Patricius Piccolomini, whence our present Roman Pontifical derives its chief elements. Thus the *Rituale Melphiense* (Naples) contains the rubric of blessing the wine to be given to the newly married after the nuptial ceremony. The oration used for this purpose alludes to the miracle wrought by our Lord at the marriage feast of Cana, and runs: "Benedic, Domine, hunc potum . . . sicut benedixisti sex hydrias in Cana Galilaeae, ut sint sani et sobrii atque immaculati omnes gustantes ex eo," etc.

The same blessing is found as part of the nuptial celebration in the rituals of England during the Middle Ages. The Sarum Ritual (Salisbury), and those of York and Hereford, prescribe: "Post missam benedicatur panis et vinum vel aliud potabile in vasculo et gustent in nomine Domini." In France we find a similar form. Sometimes, as appears from the Rouen Ritual, there was a twofold blessing of wine, one in the church in the morning and another in the evening when the "benedictio thalami" had place. In Germany the custom was never introduced; instead of it there was the blessing of the "Minne cup" of St. John.

It would seem then that the "Ritus pro celebrando sacramento matrimonii", in the Roman Pontifical, was taken from the "Ordinarium Episcopi" ("Liber episcopalis" or "Liber pontificalis") used in Rome and throughout Italy. The fact that the formula in the text of the ceremony expressing the mutual consent of the parties to be married is given in

[1] Vol. I, "Der Wein als Ehetrunk," p. 283.

Italian, whereas the Ritual of St. Charles, as well as the Roman Ritual, gives the same text only in Latin, goes far to confirm the assumption of the local (Italian) origin of the rubric in the Pontifical.

De Smet, in his admirable compendium *De Sponsalibus et Matrimonio*,[2] writes: "Mos etiam erat antiquitus, in nonnullis locis, ut parochus sponsos ad domum conjugalem duceret, ac praeesset ceremoniae benedictionis ac gustationis panis et vini, etc. Benedictum panem et vinum sacerdos, postquam illa praegustaverat, tradebat sponso qui gustabat ipse et sponsae tradebat," etc.

Doubtless the original purpose of the ceremony was to recall the marriage at Cana at which Christ manifested His divine power, and to remind the newly espoused of the moderation amid their festive joy calculated to retain our Lord in their midst.

THE FAST BEFORE MASS AND HOLY COMMUNION.

The argument made in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW in behalf of those in delicate health or otherwise prevented from approaching Holy Communion by reason of the prescribed fast, is corroborated by an experienced parish priest in England who advocates a mitigation of the law in favor of priests obliged to duplicate. As the reasons for dispensing in such cases are on the whole analogous to those advanced in behalf of hard-working or delicate persons among our Catholic laity, we comply with the request to reprint the plea made for the English clergy, which appears in the (London) *Tablet* of 5 August:

SIR,—In this age of many changes in the disciplinary laws of our religion there is an important matter which calls for consideration, and which is overlooked, owing, as it seems to me, to a certain diffidence in bringing it forward amongst those whom it chiefly concerns. May I crave a little space in your columns to state it and urge its claims on those who have the power of providing a remedy?

The great bulk of the secular clergy, and many of the regulars too, in this country are obliged, owing to the fewness of priests, "to duplicate", that is, to say two Masses on Sundays and holidays: the

[2] Titus antiqui, N. 123, p. 148, II ed.

first Mass at an early hour and the second at 11, or even later. At the second Mass, which is usually a "Missa Cantata", the celebrant has to preach, and in many districts the same priest performs these duties Sunday after Sunday throughout the year in presence of practically the same congregation. It follows that these priests do not break their fast till between 12 and 1 o'clock. The present writer has been performing these duties for nearly half his life, and he feels that there are grave reasons for looking for an amelioration. The particular amelioration he wishes to urge in this letter is with respect to the law of fasting. That law is an ecclesiastical law, and is of great antiquity. But the Church as a *pia mater* allows those who are seriously ill and are anointed to receive Holy Viaticum though not fasting, and in recent years an important concession has been made by the Holy See in favor of certain invalids. Why has the Church made these concessions? Because there are good reasons, and I submit that there are good reasons, too, for relaxing the law in the case of priests to whom I have above referred. Health is a consideration where priests are few and vocations are not numerous, and the strain upon health arising from the Sunday fast is serious indeed, and to me it does not seem to be justified by necessity, for there is no intrinsic unbecomingness in taking food before Holy Communion, otherwise the custom on Christmas Eve would not be allowed. I do not here lay stress on the discomfort, bodily and mental, which one has to endure, except in so far as these tell on a priest's efficiency, and fitness in the discharge of his duty; but if there is any duty that requires bodily fitness for its efficient discharge it is preaching. A speaker who addresses an audience in the evening on, say, Tariff Reform, likes to have a clear head so as to state his case effectively. Surely it is an important gain if a priest is physically fit—his nerves and temper in a normal condition—when he is engaged and doing what the Council of Trent describes as "the principal duty of Bishops", namely, preaching the Word of God—especially where he has the added difficulty of addressing nearly the same audience Sunday after Sunday. I will not labor the point further. I believe I am expressing the sentiments of a great number of the clergy (though I have no brief) when I advocate a mitigation of the law of fasting in favor of those whose duties are as I have stated above; and I am convinced that the change recommended is reasonable, that it would make for the greater efficiency and health of those concerned, and that it would tell favorably on the discharge of their important duties. In the hope that these lines may meet the eyes of those whose province it is to grant the suggested mitigation, I ask you to kindly insert them in your widely-read journal.

Yours faithfully, I. A. M.

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN THE UNITED STATES.

The selection of correct standards in ecclesiastical architecture is gradually becoming the guiding principle of church builders in the United States. Heretofore the choice of architectural models was determined largely by local traditions, accidental convenience, personal tastes, and financial considerations. The result has been a large number of buildings representing no particular style or aim from the esthetic point of view, yet not always inexpensive or unpretentious. These buildings are destructive of the ancient traditions in the Catholic Church which have made art in the service of religion an eloquent expression of the eternal truths.

Some American architects with exceptional opportunities of training, and with Catholic instincts, even if they have not always been of the Catholic faith, have sought within late years to overcome the prejudices and practical difficulties which a downward tendency, accelerated by commercial motives, placed in the way of a higher and truer standard. In a few instances they have succeeded in giving us church buildings correct in style and symbolism, true in material expression, and attractive as well as consistent in form. One of these is the Church of St. Edward's, Philadelphia, built by the English architect, George A. Audsley, after the French Gothic models of the thirteenth century. The building is a perfect expression of architectural truth, a feature on which Mr. Audsley particularly insists as essential to a work which seeks to embody true worship of the God of truth. It excludes every kind of deception through mere imitation. What appears as stone is actually stone; metal appears as metal, and so forth. The lines are mathematical; the lights are true; the symbolism is striking, and the finish clean and perfect. Another edifice recently completed, and artistically perfect, is St. Paul's Church at Butler, Pennsylvania. It is of the later English Gothic style, not florid but harmonious in its parts, and chaste in outline. Complete in all details, like St. Edward's, though different in style, it represents truth both in its proportions and in its material. The architect is Mr. John T. Comes, of Pittsburgh, an artist who possesses, apart from the technique of his profession as a designer and draughtsman, that general culture which enables him to judge of the accessories in the

service of the sanctuary according to the canons of the liturgy and of good taste.

The subject of our church architecture seems to us of sufficient importance for the clergy of the United States to call for somewhat exhaustive discussion in these pages, especially since we are on the point of emerging from the barely material and utilitarian considerations which the pioneer church builder is as a rule compelled to face in a missionary country.

The REVIEW accordingly proposes to take up the subject of our church architecture, and to obtain an expression from some of the leading architects in America, not only as to the true requisites in church building, but also with reference to the opportunities at hand for carrying the demands of correct style into practical effect with the aid of modern appliances and materials. Thus we may perhaps pave the way toward making the Catholic Church in America, what she has been for ages in Europe, the Patron and Model of Christian art, to which we may point as to the great teacher of all that is true in thought and in form.

OUR "REGULARS" IN THE ELECTION OF DIOCESAN CONSULTORS.

Qu. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore enacts (19), that one-half of the diocesan consultors shall be appointed by the bishop; the other half also by the bishop, though only on the nomination made by the clergy ("post propositionem Cleri"). Then it says: "Propositio autem ex parte Cleri fiet hoc modo: Singuli sacerdotes qui in dioecesi sacro ministerio funguntur, Episcopo exhibebunt . . . pro unoquoque Consultore seligendo tria nomina." From this it appears that not only the diocesan priests, but also each of the "Regulars" who exercises the *cura animarum* in the diocese should be requested to submit to the bishop the three names required. Now, since the practice of some dioceses is to reserve exclusively to the secular clergy the proposal of the required names, the question is asked whether the "Regulars" must be requested to nominate or not.

CANCELLARIUS.

Resp. The writer believes that neither Regulars strictly so-called nor other Religious, though engaged in parochial work, have any voice in the selection of Diocesan Consultors. First, the almost universal practice, which is an interpretation of the

law, does not concede this right to Religious. Secondly, the Council of Baltimore gives this office to the clergy (*clerus*), which term without qualifying adjective signifies in canonical use secular or diocesan clergy. The phrase "singuli sacerdotes qui in dioecesi sacro ministro funguntur" is but an explanation of the foregoing term *clerus*, referring consequently to diocesan priests. Thirdly, we argue from analogy. The Tridentine Council (Sess. XXIII, Cap. 18, De Ref.) prescribes the establishment of a board of regents (*deputati*) as advisers in temporal matters connected with seminaries. One member of this board is elected by the clergy (*a clero*). Canonists agree that Regulars are here excluded. Furthermore, a decree of the S. Congregation of the Council under date of 15 July, 1893 (*Acta S. Sedis*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 ff.) expressly declares that the Fathers of the Oratory, founded by St. Philip Neri, who are not Regulars, but merely *secular* priests subject to their own superiors, are not to have any voice, *active or passive*,[1] in the selection of said trustees or regents.

In the course of the argument the Roman advocate argued in reference to the word *clerus* as follows: "Porro cum, saltem ex recepto universim more, indubium videatur illa voce 'clerus' sacerdotes tantummodo saeculares comprehendi, ita ut juxta mentem Patrum Tridentinorum, a praedicto deputatorum munere religiosi omnino excludi debeant", etc. Whence we may argue *a pari* in the case of our Diocesan Consultors. Religious engage in parochial work only by way of exception, enjoying rights and having obligations in consequence. They have not, however, the same rights and the same diocesan interests as priests of the diocese, and they are not to be drawn away unnecessarily from their duties as religious.

ANDREW B. MEEHAN.

Rochester, N. Y.

[1] Quaeritur: An Patres Oratorii, seu S. Philippi filii, cooptari valeant inter electores et eligendos? Em. Patres, re mature perpensa, respondendum censuerunt: *Negative.* (S. C. Conc., 15 July, 1893.)

Criticisms and Notes.

DER MONISMUS UND SEINE PHILOSOPHISCHEN GRUNDLAGEN. Beiträge zu einer kritik Moderner Geistesströmungen. Von Friedrich Klimke, S.J. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1911. Pp. xxiv–620.

Probably the most direct way to a clear conception of the contents and character of this large work will be to follow the schematic outline provided by the author himself.

Monism

1. As a Method.
2. As a World View.
   - 4. Constitutive.
   - 3. Causal.
     - 6. Metaphysical.
     - 5. Noetic.
       - 7. Phenomenal (Real).
       - 8. Transcendental.
         - 9. Materialistic.
         - 10. Spiritualistic.

Which being interpreted means this: Monism may be viewed: (1) as a method; it is then a unified procedure toward a unified and consistent system of science, special or universal. In this sense of course every science and *a fortiori* philosophy seeks to reduce its partial truths to a unified systematic whole bound together by the unity of its formal object and ultimate principle. In this sense Monism presents no special problems and is excluded from the present treatise. (2) As a world view Monism is that philosophical theory which refers the whole universe of experience, inner and outer, actual and possible, to a single principle. If that principle be regarded as the transcendent cause or creator of all things we have (3) Causal Monism, which is of course identified with Theism. If it be regarded as entering into and constituting the universe, we have (4) Constitutive Monism, which will be called Noetic or Epistemological if it maintains the identity of the knowing subject with the known object, regarding each as an aspect of one all-embracing consciousness. It will be called (6) Metaphysical Monism if it seeks to determine the essence of the one fundamental world principle by reducing it to matter [(9) Materialistic Monism] or spirit [(10) Spiritualistic Monism]. Or in turn it may be called (7) Phenomenal (or real) Monism if it claims to find that principle in the real, actual world of human experience, and (8) Transcendental Monism if it holds

that principle to surpass or transcend our experiential world. Transcendental Monism is therefore equivalent to agnosticism.

Each of these forms of Monistic theory is thoroughly expounded in the volume before us. The author's aim has been chiefly expository. Nevertheless he subjects most of the above forms to a brief criticism and gives at the close of his work a general critique of the dominant principle of the Monistic world-view. Admitting and indeed contending with the Monists that the world of experience demands of the human mind reduction to unity, the questions still remain: (1) Can that world itself be the ground and reason of its own unity? (2) Can the ultimate unifying principle, the Absolute, God, be identified with that world? The result of the author's criticism is of course a negative answer to both of these questions. Although this critical part of his work is not exhaustive, it is within its limits solid, thorough and, we think, to an unbiased mind should be convincing. The special critiques throughout the volume supplement it of course considerably, yet if the author had decided to leave no single important form of Monistic speculation uncriticized the work would have been still more valuable.

Some further exposition of the illogical positions of Spiritualistic Monism, which is becoming more and more the controlling form of present-day philosophy, would have been welcome. The same might be said regarding the agnostic or the epistemological varieties of Monism. However, the volume as it is bulks quite large and further additions would probably have swelled it unduly. Moreover, the author leaves us to expect from his pen another volume, which will treat of the ethical and religious aspects of the subject, and which would afford space for further critical supplement. The literature on Monism is large and the greater part of it has been covered by the present volume. We miss, however, the works of Paul Carus,[1] and especially of Professor Royce, who is probably the ablest and subtlest writer on Spiritualistic Monism in the English language. This omission might well be supplied in the second volume.

In conclusion, let it be added that no work of greater or perhaps as great importance for philosophy and its history has within recent times been published. It embodies the first attempt to present in a complete systematic form the manifold varieties of the Monistic tendencies of modern philosophy and to estimate them at their exact scientific value. The urgency to find a principle of unity at the heart of the universe is of course the first indication of the unity of man's nature, as well as of his origin and destiny. Fr. Klimke, studying this groping for unity on the part of so many gifted intellects of the

[1] *The Monist,* Chicago, and many separate books.

present and past generations, exposes their methods and the results, setting forth calmly and objectively their errors and their hopelessness. There is a unity at the heart of things, a unity of coördination and subordination which springs from a unity not of inherent substance, whether material or spiritual, but of intelligence and will, transcendent and extraneous, though immanent and all pervading—the one omnipotent Creator and Conserver, God. An elementary truth this of the child's Catechism, yet one needing above all in these times the rational demonstration such as it receives in the volume before us. The work is one which no lover of wisdom who has command of the German language can afford to leave unstudied.

THE DAWN OF ALL. By Robert Hugh Benson. London: Hutchinson & Co.; St. Louis: B. Herder. 1911. Pp. 423.

We will say at the outset, quite frankly, that we do not much like Mgr. Benson's latest novel, for reasons which we will give. In his Preface the author tells us: "In a former book, called *Lord of the World*, I attempted to sketch the kind of developments a hundred years hence which, I thought, might reasonably be expected if the present lines of what is called 'modern thought' were only prolonged far enough; and I was informed repeatedly that the effect of the book was exceedingly depressing and discouraging to optimistic Christians. In the present book I am attempting—also in parable form—not in the least to withdraw anything that I said in the former, but to follow up the other lines instead, and to sketch—again in parable—the kind of developments about sixty years hence which, I think, may reasonably be expected should the opposite process begin, and ancient thought (which has stood the test of centuries, and is, in a very remarkable manner, being 'rediscovered' by persons even more modern than modernists) be prolonged instead." Ancient thought, "rediscovered", results in a world made Catholic. Would that this might be. We may hope it will be; but hardly in sixty years.

It is not with Mgr. Benson's rosy picture of a universally triumphant Church that we find fault; even though we may be tempted to think it too good to be true. Nor is it to be denied (even if the reviewer wished to deny it) that there is clever writing in the *Dawn of All*, and good and true things which make the book worth reading said in that arresting way in which the author knows so well how to say them. He is often interesting enough, though there are places where the reader is tempted to "skip", particularly where we have descriptions, in the Jules Verne style, of volors, volor stations, journeyings through the air at more than express speed, and such like.

Most readers, we think, will ask why Mgr. Benson chose so strange a way of introducing his picture of what he thinks may happen. He introduces us to an apostate priest, dying in Westminster Hospital. In a period of *coma*, lasting some hours, and into which he has fallen after emphatically, with bad language, refusing to have a fellow-priest called to his bedside, the unfortunate apostate dreams a dream, or has a vision, of the future Catholic world. It seems to us that Mgr. Benson would have done better to get his story started without dragging in an apostate priest to dream it. We have heard more than one of the author's clerical brethren complain of the presentment of secular priests—and others—in former works, a presentment that tends to belittle the clergy somewhat. The prologue and epilogue of the present volume will not be likely to appease them. There are, unfortunately, apostate priests, and the clergy have their weaknesses; but these weaknesses, or the existence, here and there, of worse things than weakness, surely need not be paraded before the public, largely non-Catholic, that reads Mgr. Benson's books.

Our apostate priest, in his vision, finds himself sitting on a dais in Hyde Park, listening to a sermon by a Franciscan friar. He himself is dressed in the costume of a Domestic Prelate. He does not know how he came there, having suddenly lost his memory. He has to be taught gradually who he is, what his work, and the history of events since his birth. He discovers that he is Secretary to Cardinal Bellairs, Archbishop of Westminster.

England, in the dream, is a Catholic country, under a Catholic king. Catholicism and monarchy rule again in France. Practically all the world is Catholic except Germany, which is the last refuge of freemasons and socialists. The German Emperor is converted in the course of the story, by a miracle at Lourdes. His conversion causes trouble—a successful rebellion of the revolutionary party who wish to rid the world of Catholic domination. The trouble is ended, tragically, by a personal visit of the Pope, who comes (carried from Rome to Berlin by an airship) to face the Revolutionary Council after they had put to death two of his envoys. Won by the Pope's fearlessness and fatherly pleading, the revolutionaries submit. An arrangement is made by which socialists, and those who think like them, are permitted to hold and occupy certain territory in the United States of America; and the Church is now supreme everywhere, with the Holy Father as arbitrator of the nations.

The dream finishes with a grand world-tour by the Pope, the dreamer waking up in his bed at Westminster (he had become Cardinal-Archbishop in his dream) and calling for a priest, who comes, and turns out to be one of the characters in the vision. To this

priest, also, after the dying man has been reconciled to the Church, he recounts his dream—somewhat of a feat for one in such extremities.

There are introduced into the story a great political struggle in England concerning the question of establishing the Catholic Church by law; a visit to Lourdes, with an able description of the scenes there witnessed; a visit also to Rome, where the dreamer of the dream surprises the Holy Father when His Holiness is at confession. It is hard to see the object of introducing this scene. A Benedictine priest is tried, sentenced, and executed for heresy; the author taking occasion to show how, not the Church, but the State, is responsible for the death-punishment, looking upon heresy as an attack upon the Christian basis of society. Mgr. Masterman (for that is the name and style of the dreamer in his dream-world) is horrified at the revival of executions for heresy, and cannot refrain from going to condole with the condemned man. To his surprise the monk upholds the system under which he has been condemned, though he claims that a technical mistake has been made in his case. No Catholic would deny that the trial and punishment of obstinate heretics—their punishment in *some* way, or at least the prevention of their doing any further harm—would be perfectly laudable and to be wished for in a Catholic State. Catholic readers, too, will be pleased that Mgr. Benson throws the responsibility of the death sentence in such cases, with perfect justice, upon the civil authorities; but it does not seem to us that his treatment of this very delicate matter is very convincing. Most readers, we think, will feel inclined to look upon the whole machinery which brought the young monk to death with the same feeling of horror with which it inspired Monsignor Masterman, and to sympathize a good deal, if not with the error, yet with the fate of the condemned man.

Ireland, in the story, has become a kind of close corporation of the Contemplative Orders. Priest-doctors, skilled in psychology and new discoveries concerning the action of mind upon body, prescribe retreats, and legislate about prayer and devotion for their patients in conjunction with ordinary medical attendants. Science and faith have become almost completely reconciled. There is still some debate as to the supernatural character of certain miracles—and this was the rock upon which poor Dom Adrian split. The Church has found the right medium between royal and so-called "democratic" despotisms, and has brought about the adjustment of liberty with authority. She has made the world accept the truth of Catholicism and made the nations act logically upon that truth in their public life. Morals are strictly supervised; crime is rigorously repressed, and the Catholic peoples will have it so.

Doubtless, if the Church gains the ascendancy which Mgr. Benson foresees in case ancient thought in the long run prevails, many of the desirable things depicted in this book will come about; but we could have wished that the author's treatment of his theme had been more convincing, and that the book had shown more evidence than it does of careful writing. Despite the good things in it, of which we may mention especially the presentment of the logical outcome in public affairs of a general acceptance of Catholic truth by the nations, as well as arguments, strikingly put, in favor of the Catholic view of human life and destiny, we cannot help saying that, as a whole, the book is disappointing after the eminent and much more artistic literary work which Mgr. Benson has done in the past.

ARGUMENTATION AND DEBATE. By Joseph V. Denny, Carson S. Duncan, and Frank C. McKinney. New York: American Book Co. 1911. Pp. 400.

Many readers of this REVIEW are no doubt acquainted with Ringwalt's *Briefs on Public Questions* (Longmans, Green, & Co.). which was published some six years ago and reviewed at the time in these pages. The book has proved its value, to those who have used it for debating purposes, as a handy repertory of suggestive points and references on many subjects relating to politics, economy, and sociology. The book in title above will be found no less serviceable in the same direction; and especially as supplementary to the manual just mentioned. About one-third of the volume is given to a theory of argumentation; the remainder is made up of selections from famous debates on critical and vital issues in American history, politics, and law. These selections afford excellent models of the best typical forms of intellectual encounter, and thus practically illustrate the theoretical section of the work.

The theory of argumentation introduces the essentials of logic as well as considerable information on legal evidence. Each section terminates with exercises which serve to test the intelligence and skill of the student.

The book, especially in combination with Ringwalt's *Briefs*, will prove to be a valuable adjunct in the training and conducting of young men's literary societies. It might likewise be adopted in our preparatory seminaries and colleges in connexion with the study of rhetoric and in preparation for philosophy. The young man who enters on the study of Logic in the seminary after a practical employment of this manual will find the rough ways of Dialectics comparatively plain and smooth.

DE SUPERIORE COMMUNITATUM RELIGIOSARUM. Manuale asceticum, canonicum, juxta SS. RR. Congr. novissimas leges digestum. Auctore A. M. Micheletti. Cum approbatione S. P. A. Magistri. New York and Cincinnati : Fr. Pustet & Co. 1911. Pp. 656.

The author of this work is in a singular way qualified to discuss the canonical and ascetical aspect of religious and ecclesiastical government. His previously published commentaries on the decrees and regulations "pro reformatione Seminariorum", covering four volumes of considerable bulk, and dealing separately with the "Ratio Pietatis, Studiorum, Disciplinae, Oeconomiae et Hygienis" of community life, as well as his studies "Paedagogiae Ecclesiasticae Specialis", indicate an analytical mind of rare breadth and accuracy, no less than a deep appreciation of the value of order as the fundamental principle of all piety and religious activity.

In the present volume D. Micheletti outlines in the first place the personal qualities requisite in a Religious Superior—namely holiness of life, which is illustrated by humility, regularity of conduct, patience, charity, fortitude, and the spirit of prayer. But piety without prudence, whatever it may do for the subject obediently observant of rule and of good example, is a one-sided qualification and insufficient for the making of a superior. Our author in pointing out the necessity of prudence, its manifestations and benefits, sharply distinguishes it from that shrewdness which men of the world call policy or diplomacy. Christian and, above all, religious prudence is governed by a love of truth, by a knowledge of oneself, and a discernment of spirit in others, by a far-sighted patience and breadth of mind that can bear momentary disappointment and measure the difference between present and future gains. A further qualification of the efficient superior is the ability to correct, an endowment that is based on a sense of justice. From the same source arise the tact and disposition to encourage, praise, and reward, as well as the natural power to stimulate zeal and to prevent or neutralize a rivalry that draws on the passion of jealousy.

After discussing the person of the superior and pointing out the qualifications needful in her disposition of mind and heart, the author enters upon the characteristics that must mark her relations toward others with whom she is obliged, by reason of her office, to enter into common activity. These duties are manifold and require in the superior special gifts of adaptation, all of which P. Micheletti discusses minutely, as they are ordered by the constitutions, rules, and customs of approved religious Institutes. An Appendix of "Documenta ac Paradygmata" and a full topical as well as an

analytical Index render the volume an up-to-date repertory for the directors and superiors of religious communities of both men and women.

EXCITATORIUM MENTIS AD DEUM Bernardi Oliverii Augustiniani Oscensis, Barchinonensis et Dertusensis quondam Episcopi. Nunc primum ad fidem codicis Escurialensis edidit P. Benignus Fernandez, ejusdem Ordinis alumnus. Superiorum permissu. Matriti: Typographia Hellenica. Monasterio de El Escorial, Valverde 17. Madrid, 1911. Pp. 231.

This little volume contains a series of reflections on the workings of divine grace in regard to the sinner, also on the sufferings of Christ, by which the grace of salvation is interpreted to man. The third and fourth parts comprise various invocations and acts of gratitude to God, together with some exhortations on prayer and meditation. There is much in the book that recalls the *Following of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis, or the "Considerations" of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the contemplative writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

But the chief attraction of the little volume lies in the fact that it reveals to us something of an ecclesiastical writer of the early half of the fourteenth century who had been lost sight of in the literature of that age, despite his prominence as both a writer and active administrator in his Order and in the Church of Spain. Bernard Oliverii occupied successively the sees of Huesca (once the capital of Aragon), of Barcelona, and of Tortosa, where he died. The tomb in the Cathedral of the last-named city bears the simple inscription: "Anno 1348 pridie Idus Julii obiit Reverendus Pater et Dom. Frater Bernardus Oliverii Episcopus Dertusen. ac Magister in Sacra Pagina. Hic tumulatur."

Among his writings, which must have been quite numerous, though they are apparently lost in great part, Fr. Fernandez mentions a *Commentarium in Magistrum Sententiarum libri quattuor,* also a treatise on the Mass, another on the Divine Office, several polemical and apologetic treatises—*Contra Judaeos, De Inquisitione Antichristi,* and *Quaestiones quotlibetales.* Among the ascetical writings the catalogues of the Escurial library mention *Bernardi Oliverii Augustiniani Speculum Animae,* the original of which is supposed to have been destroyed by fire in 1671. There are two works of the same name, one in a Spanish version, the other in the Catalonian dialect, attributed to Fr. Lupo Fernandez and Torres Amat respectively, which may be translations of Oliverii's Latin original.

Of the *Excitatorium Mentis ad Deum* our author mentions several editions all of the fifteenth century, in the national libraries of Madrid and Terragona, and in the Escurial. The latter also possesses a Spanish version under the title *Espertamiento ò levantamiento de la voluntad en Dios,* which was published some years ago in *La Ciudad de Dios,* and a valuable version in Catalonian, *Excitatori de la pensa a Deu,* of the year 1458. This appears to have been made from a Spanish translation. Besides these records of the Augustinian Bishop's literary output there are as proofs of his administrative zeal the "Constitutiones Synodales Ecclesiae Oscensis," the "Constitutiones Ecclesiae Barchinonensis anni 1345", also a codex preserved in the Cathedral of Tortosa, entitled "D. Fr. Bernardi de Oliver, episcopi Dertosens. Constitutio de festo S. Augustini solemniter celebrando, et de ratione expensarum Capitulo reddenda"; also "Constitutiones de Capellis et sepulturis, de vestibus", etc., of the year 1347. The author of the short biography of the Bishop mentions also a number of his "Collationes". Thus the treatise here published opens the way to inquiry as to the personality of Bishop Oliver, whence a good deal of light might be brought to bear upon the history of the Spanish Church during the critical period in which he lived.

DE QUALITATIBUS SENSIBILIBUS et in specie de Coloribus et Sonis. Auctore Huberto Gründer, S.J. Friburgi et St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1911. Pp. xi.–100.

Fr. Gründer, like his co-religionist, Fr. Walker, rightly thinks that monographs on particular subjects of science or philosophy are more needed at the present time than are general compendia. Just as we owe to this true discernment of existing demands the able and timely discussion of the theories of knowledge embodied in the most recent of the Stonyhurst Manuals of Catholic Philosophy, so now do we owe to a like discernment the present no less able, yet not so extensive, monograph on the sensible qualities of bodies.

The author limits his treatment to the two qualities of sound and color, though his theories apply *mutatis mutandis* to the other three "sensibles"—those which appeal to touch, taste, and smell. Regarding the nature of the sensible properties, apart from the idealistic and mechanical theories, which here fall out of consideration, the scholastics and hence most Catholic philosophers have advanced three explanations. According to the older theory, sound and color exist formally, precisely, in bodies, just as they are represented in the sensations of hearing and seeing. The second theory, advocated

by B. Albertus Magnus and many others, places sound and color only fundamentally in bodies, and formally in the medium, i. e. in the intervening air and light. The third theory finds the said properties to exist fundamentally in bodies and formally in the act of sensation. Fundamentally sound, for instance, is a molar energy of a vibrating body transmitted by aerial waves to the sense of hearing. Formally it is the perceptive state of this sense—akin to the apprehensional state, the *verbum mentis* of the intellect. The latter theory, based as it is on accurate experimentation, is maintained by modern scientists generally as well as by the majority of the neo-scholastic philosophers. Father Gründer's purpose in the present booklet is to defend this theory. He lays down three theses: the first maintains that the theory is not idealistic, as its adversaries charge it with being, that is, it does not deny the real objectivity of the phenomena in question; secondly, it has certain solid positive grounds in its favor; thirdly, it harmonizes best with a sound theory of knowledge, as well as with certain facts established by physical science. Fr. Gründer defends these positions solidly and interestingly, illustrating his arguments with copious references to the data of physics and physiology. Employing simple, straightforward Latin, his style is everywhere unmistakably clear and transparent. The book should be welcomed by professors and students of philosophy. Nowhere else will they find so thorough and so luminous an exposition of the difficult problem of the objectivity of sensuous phenomena.

THE HERMIT OF DREAMS. By Ruth Temple Lindsay. London: Herbert & Daniel; St. Louis, Mo., B. Herder. 1911. Pp. 171.

If these five short stories are "dreams", they have nevertheless deep realities for their foundation. The "hermit" is a priest, of much worldly wisdom, with a keen insight into human nature, and above all into spiritual motives, and with a singularly apt faculty of expressing what he realizes. He relates in a casual way, and at intervals, to an appreciative friend some of his experiences of extraordinary manifestations of soul life. They are chiefly stories of conversions attended by those characteristic interior trials which ordinarily transcend the perceptions and judgments of the multitude. The last story is really beautiful, though the title, whilst here descriptive of a touching Christmas reverie, savors of triviality. The writer's style and train of thought at times suggest Father Benson; but the book is, as the title-page indicates, the work of a lady, and is marked by traces of a rich southern imagination.

LESSONS IN LOGIC. By William Turner, S.T.D. Washington: Catholic University Press; London: Washbourne. 1911. Pp. 302.

This is the first volume to appear in a projected undertaking entitled "The Catholic University Series of Text-books in Philosophy". The series will include the principal branches of the philosophical curriculum and will be followed by separate treatises on various problems of philosophy. If one may judge by the volume at hand the educational ideal will give the typical character to the series, while the material embodied will be the traditional Catholic philosophy brought into relation with the thought of the present day. Doctor Turner needs no introduction to Catholic students of philosophy. They are indebted to him for a *History of Philosophy* which may without exaggeration be said to be the only fairly complete and reliable work of its class in the English language. His present *Lessons in Logic* is, as the title suggests, an elementary text-book primarily designed to meet the needs of teachers in our high schools and colleges and (may we not add?) in our seminaries. For although Latin must always be the medium of logical instruction in the latter institutions, an adjunct English manual, such as these *Lessons,* will be of the greatest service in clarifying the obscurities and unraveling the complexities which beset the beginner's study of scholastic dialectics.

It is usually supposed that there is no smooth and easy road to the mastery of Logic. Probably this is true. But it is no less true that what degree of facilitation is possible has been attained in these *Lessons.* It is hard to see how a simpler and clearer exposition of dialectical rules and processes could be produced. The success is due to no diluting of logical substance but to a true psychological method (which advances from the concrete and the easy to the abstract and the more difficult) as well as to the perfectly translucent style and apt illustration. The "examples" employed are for the most part not the familiar dried mummies—*lapis non est angelus*—but fresh models from real life.

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. By various Writers. Vol. V. London: The Catholic Truth Society; St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1911.

With the present volume the collection of short studies in the History of Religions edited by Father Martindale, S.J., is completed. Heretofore the Catholic student has had to depend upon the researches made in the field by scholars often more or less inimical to or at least devoid of the spirit of faith, which alone can

quicken reason to discern unerringly the origin and grasp the nature of genuine Christianity. The present collection introduces him to the salient characteristics of the pagan as well as many of the heretical and schismatical cults. At the same time it makes him acquainted with the viewpoints and theories of the rationalists who seek to reduce all forms of religion to one or another primitive superstition out of which they are asserted to have grown and of which Christianity is at present the most completely "evolved" expression. The Catholic student is by the present series well informed, armed, and forewarned. He is rightly oriented; and is also placed in a position to profit by the positive discoveries of his enemies—*fas est ab hoste doceri*—whilst avoiding their errors and insidious sophistries. The history and comparative study of religions have been too long left in the hands of the enemies of the Church who have drawn therefrom deadly weapons against her. In the collection of volumes now completed we are at last provided with an arsenal wherein the Christian apologist will find no less effective instruments of defence, and wherein he may learn how to turn his enemies' arms and tactics to the triumph of his own cause.

Of the individual volume at hand it will suffice to say that it contains an article on "The Religion of the 'Primitive' Races" by the veteran African missionary Bishop Le Roy, and a short study on "The Religions of Japan" from the Jesuit missionary at Tokyo, Fr. Dahlmann. There are also papers on "Theosophy" by M. de Grandmaison, on "Spiritualism" by Mgr. Robert Benson, and on "Christian Science" by Fr. Thurston, S.J. The volume concludes with an illuminating essay on "The Cults and Christianity" by the editor, Fr. Martindale, S.J. There are also a good index and a contents-table of the five volumes.

PLANS D'INSTRUCTIONS pour le Diocèse de Nevers. Paris: Pierre Téqui. 1910. Pp. 445.

In 1892 the late Bishop of Nevers in France addressed to his clergy an admonition to preach, and with it sent them a program which they were to follow in their weekly instructions. "In these days people know many things of which our forefathers were ignorant; but they do not know sufficiently well the truths of religion and the science of salvation," wrote his successor in urging the observance of the program which had been perfected in the course of years, and of which the present issue is the twelfth edition.

The matter of the book covers a period of five years. The first part deals with the fundamental truths of religion,—the Apostles' Creed; the second takes up the subject of grace and its sacramental

channels; the third covers the Ten Commandments, and the Precepts of the Church; the fourth explains the Catholic liturgy; and the fifth supplies sketches of sermons on the Gospels for every Sunday of the year. The division and the arrangement of topics offer naturally nothing original; but the presentation of the matter is certainly helpful to the preacher, since it serves the purpose of unifying the method of instruction and creating an atmosphere which renders the harmonious assimilation of truth possible and easy. Each of the outlines is concise, full of substantial matter in doctrine and illustration, and treats its subject in a broad and clear perspective from different points of view. Whilst it does not dispense the preacher from preparing his sermon, it places at his ready command pertinent thoughts, a logical division, suggestive illustrations, and the chief sources where he may find additional matter to fill in his composition.

To make the use of these plans of weekly sermons effective the Bishop instructs the clergy to observe certain ordinances which he lays down as obligatory. They accompany the work and are comprised under thirteen articles. We subjoin them as suggestive in many respects.

ORDINANCE REGARDING THE DUTY OF PREACHING.

"We oblige all pastors and other priests of our diocese who have charge of souls to give an instruction at the parochial Mass on all Sundays and holidays of obligation, either in person or by a substitute priest duly approved.

"Art. 1. We declare it a reserved case with suspension for any priest in charge of souls who, unless legitimately prevented, omits this instruction for more than six Sundays in the year, or who neglects to give the same on two successive Sundays, the harvest season excepted.

"Art. 2. We authorize pastors to omit this instruction during a certain number of Sundays, not exceeding six within the year, but to be determined by themselves according to the necessities of their people and the needs of the harvest season; but even on these days there should be given a brief exhortation of some sort.

"Art. 3. When Pastoral Letters are issued, they are to be read in place of the instruction.

"Art. 4. In order that no great part of the faithful may be continuously deprived of hearing the word of God, which is the indispensable food of the Christian life, we order that in all parishes where two or more Masses are said on Sundays, there be also, besides the sermon at the principal Mass, a short exhortation at the other Masses.

"Art. 5. Pastors and assistants are ordered to compose their sermons on the subjects indicated in the proposed plans for the current

year; but they are free, if they prefer, to change the arrangement of thoughts; under certain circumstances they may substitute some other subject, provided they complete the course indicated in the series prescribed.

"Art. 6. (Makes special provision for the preaching of charity sermons.)

"Art. 7. The sermon is to be short and practical, not lasting above half an hour; and this is to include the reading of the Gospel and the necessary announcements.

" We earnestly request our clergy to prepare carefully their sermons, and to write them out,—at least outlining the plan, chief divisions, and principal developments. This is the only way to make the exposition orderly, clear, and interesting. The best method is that of catechetical reasoning which is calculated to inform and give to the people truly solid instruction in religious matters.

"Art. 8. Pastors will arrange with their assistants the order and turn of their preaching.

"Art. 9. If a pastor finds it impossible to preach he is to have recourse to us and obtain a duly authorized exemption from the regular duty. This should not dispense him, however, from giving his people some pious exhortation every Sunday.

"Art. 10. During Lent, each pastor in our diocese will supply at least twice each week an instruction for the people, besides the regular Sunday sermons.

"Art. 11. We charge all priests to whom the august ministry of preaching has been committed, to maintain the high ideal of the divine word and to prepare themselves continually by prayer, study, and meditation on the Sacred Scripture to perform the obligation properly.

" They are carefully to avoid bringing into the pulpit questions of a contentious nature or personalities that may wound others; nor are they to discuss trivialities unworthy of the divine word.

" Let them remember that persuasive methods are more effective in uprooting abuses than reproaches or threats.

"Art. 12. We forbid pastors to allow any priest of the diocese or outside of it, who is not approved, to preach in their churches. For the rest, any priest personally known to them may occasionally officiate as preacher at their invitation.

"Art. 13. A special authorization from us is required for the preachers of Lent, Advent, the month of Mary, missions, and retreats, unless the preacher is approved in our diocese; and even in this case we desire to be informed who the chosen preacher is."

These regulations point to a systematic supervision of the office of preaching in the diocese. The subject-matter of the plans suggested

is drawn, of course, from approved sources; but in addition there is found at the end of each sketch a list of works containing other references which the preacher is advised to consult. The book is full of suggestion for practical sermon-writing.

Literary Chat.

There is surely no dearth of sermon books. We have them in every variety of matter and form and of quality—good, poor, and indifferent. Nevertheless there will always be room for a new book of the class, at least if its contents be preachable; since there will always be those that want and need the help it may furnish. A collection that can be safely recommended has recently been published by the Rev. Henry Altmeyer, Pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Huntington, W. Va. The sermons were delivered before mixed congregations and are introduced as embracing "apologetics, Catholic faith and morals, and are intended for infidels, Protestants, and Catholics". They are for the most part solid and devotional discourses, not too long nor too short. The style might here and there have been more polished; for instance the word "errors" occurs in harsh succession thrice in two lines (p. 37); and occasionally one observes an exaggerated statement, as where it is asked "could there have been greater sinners than St. Mary Magdalene and St. Augustine?" Surely there could be and doubtless have been and are. These however are small faults in an otherwise good book. (The Standard Printing Co., Huntington, W. Va.)

Mr. Paul Carus's *Truth on Trial* contains some just and incisive criticisms of the late Professor James's speculations on pragmatism—sane points of view and observations which lovers of wisdom will gladly endorse; for Mr. Carus accepts the time-honored "definition of Thomas Aquinas that truth is the agreement between thought and thing (*adequatio intellectus et rei*); in fact this is the simplest definition, but it needs further explanation as to the nature of both thought and thing" (p. 96); explanation, it might be added, which St. Thomas abundantly gives both in the *Summa* and still more copiously in the *Quaestio de Veritate*. By the way, it would do Mr. Carus good to make a study of the latter treatise and then read carefully the *Disputationes Metaphysicae* by Suarez. He would learn that the nature of truth has received more thorough and comprehensive treatment at the hands of these older master philosophers than all the whole array of dilettante newer writers have been able to work out. He would learn especially how nicely those masters distinguished between truth in the mind, in sense, in the thing, and in the expression, a distinction that lies so confusedly in his own mind or at least in his pages (p. 96). Besides this he might learn to write more clearly and distinctly on Metaphysics and would surely not set down so superficial an exposition of "the Christian doctrine of the Trinity" as one finds at pages 107-8. Nevertheless, Mr. Carus has many things to say which the mature thinker will applaud. (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.)

Attention has repeatedly been called in these pages to Fr. Hickey's *Summula Philosophiae Scholasticae*. It is undoubtedly one of the clearest of our Latin compendia, whilst its judicious excerpts from the literature of philosophy in English makes it especially adapted for use in our seminaries. The first part of the third volume (*Theologia Naturalis*) has just passed into a new edition, "aucta, emendata, indicibus locupletata". The second part is also at present going through a similar perfecting process. (Dublin: Browne & Nolan; St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder.)

Afrikanische Spiegelbilder—pictures of Africa, the land of the crescent, the joys and sorrows of the people, is the title of a little book of sketches and personal experiences which stay-at-home travelers who read German will enjoy. The author is Otto C. Artbauer. The stories are well told; the style is bright and picturesque, and the text illustrated with a few photographs. (Pustet, New York.)

More than a century ago Sailer introduced his book on the Education of Teachers (*Uber Erziehung für Erzieher*) by noting the inconsistencies of the pedagogics of his day. The contradiction in practice, he shows, leads to contradictions in theory. Not only are the theorists in conflict with one another, he complains, but most of them contradict "the ancient wisdom, which only in its forms can be made new". This disregard of "old-time wisdom" is, no less to-day than it was in Sailer's time, the cause of the bewilderment prevailing in pedagogical theory as well as practice. A firm basis of pedagogy can be found only in the Christian conception of human, and consequently of child, nature. This of course to the average sane mind looks like a platitude. Nevertheless there are not a few educators who see but superficially what is involved in "the Christian conception" of human nature. It is largely for this reason that a learned and experienced Jesuit, Dr. Franz Krus, S.J., has recently written in German a work of some 450 pages in which he develops the fundamental principles of sound pedagogics. The work, while sufficiently systematic, is presented in the more readable form of lectures. Educators and those interested in the subject may be lead by its reading into a deeper insight into the child's nature and to a more comprehensive understanding of the scope and methods of best developing it. (Innsbruck, Rauch; New York, Pustet.)

The MS. of a *Life of Cardinal Gibbons* is, we understand, in the hands of the publishers (John Murphy Co.) and will appear at an early date. It is the work of the city editor of the *Baltimore Sun,* Dr. Allen S. Will, who has ample opportunity of verifying the data needed to insure a reliable historical account of the central ecclesiastical figure in the United States during the past generation. Posterity will doubtless modify in one way or other the judgments passed upon the merits of Cardinal Gibbons by his immediate contemporaries, as it does in all cases of men conspicuous in public life; but it is a distinct advantage to have the groundwork upon which that world estimate is to be formed, secured in the record of facts by a trustworthy authority familiar with them.

In a little pamphlet, with the title of *The Mission Guide,* Father Benedict of the Congregation of the Precious Blood, St. Joseph, Mo., collects some useful information regarding the need and manner of giving parish missions for both Catholics and non-Catholics. The writer emphasizes the fact that the parish clergy have a very important part in the success of a mission, inasmuch as their systematic coöperation consists in a preparatory canvas by which the people who are to be reached by the mission will be induced to attend regularly; next it requires a following up and kindling of the spirit of fervor produced by the mission, on the part of the local priests. A mission which merely aims at getting people to make an annual profession of their faith by leading them to approach the Sacraments, may be at times a convenience to the pastoral clergy, but it hardly secures permanent improvement of the parish that needs it.

Among the articles in preparation for THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, the first of which is to appear in the November issue, is a series of papers on the subject of Church Architecture in the United States. The opening article entitled "Catholic Church Architecture in America," from the pen of Mr. Charles

D. Maginnis, treats of the building of the Village Church, the Suburban or Town Church, and the City Church respectively. Mr. George A. Audsley, the eminent English architect and organ-builder, whose literary works on Christian art have become classics, and who has spent some years in the United States studying the conditions of our ecclesiastical architecture, writes on "Truth the Guiding Principle in Catholic Church Architecture." Among the other contributors to the series are Mr. Wilfred E. Anthony, who writes on "The Chancel and its Fittings", and Mr. Ralph Adams Cram, the highest authority on Gothic architecture in America and the architect in charge of the New York Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Mr. John T. Comes, architect, of Pittsburgh, acts as editor of the series, which is sure to be an important contribution to our ecclesiastical art literature.

When Satan Took Flesh, "a novel for married persons" by A. J. Anderson (Stanley Paul & Co., London), is creating considerable perturbation among educated Catholics and right-minded Christians of every description. The author is evidently a Catholic, but his appeal is to a much wider circle than that of his coreligionists, though he makes a distinct reservation in regard to the young who are not concerned with the duties involved in marital or parental relations. It is in short a tendency novel, dealing with the question of race suicide and kindred problems. "Father Laurence" is an important figure in the novel. We shall have an exhaustive review of the book in our next issue.

The bi-monthly Review *La Ciencia Tomista* (Madrid) has just completed its third volume. The last issue (No. IX, July-August) is fully up to the high standard upon which the undertaking was inaugurated. Although its title would seem to imply that the Review is an organ mainly devoted to philosophy and theology on Thomistic lines, a glance at the program carried out in almost any issue shows that its scope embraces almost every higher line of thought that is likely to interest the average cultured reader. Besides the leading articles, which, though primarily more or less scholastic, include also literary themes, such for instance as a critique of Fogazzaro's novels in the last number, the "Bulletins" and the "Bibliographies" cover very large fields of literary lore, whilst its scientific and social "Chronicles" draw upon almost every country on the globe for interesting, up-to-date information. To those who read Spanish *La Ciencia Tomista* will be found a valuable auxiliary on the broad lines of clerical studies.

Not the least service of an organ of this kind is that it goes far to disprove the idea sometimes broached that clerical education in Spain is not abreast with the times or with its former high level of excellence. A clergy supplied with such Reviews as *La Ciencia Tomista, Razón y Fe,* conducted by the Jesuits, and *La Ciudad di Dios,* by the Augustinians, may be presumed to appreciate and utilize the very best aids to the highest intellectual culture.

Students who read Italian have at their command a serviceable instrument in *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica,* a bi-monthly published in Florence. Identical in purpose with the *Revue Néo-Scholastique* of Louvain—namely to "actualize" scholastic philosophy—its program is larger and more varied. Its bibliographical features are especially excellent.

The problem of congestion of population in our large cities is one as difficult to solve as it is far-reaching in its consequences, physical and economic no less than moral and social. To discover the causes of increasing congestion is important, though not so difficult, since they lie mostly on or near the surface. But to ascertain the effectual remedies is extremely perplexing—surpassed indeed in this respect only by the reduction of those remedies to application. A

recent work that throws considerable light on the problem bears the title *Industrial Causes of Congestion of Population in New York City*, by Edward Pratt, Ph.D. The limitations which the author sets to his investigation are sufficiently marked out in the title itself. The causes and the remedies, while restricted to the problem as it affects the American metropolis, are sufficiently general to avail for application elsewhere. At least, Professor Pratt's researches and suggestions will be found well worthy of consideration by all to whom the problem makes its appeal. The work belongs to the well-known "Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law" from Columbia University (New York: Longmans, Green, & Co.).

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THEOLOGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

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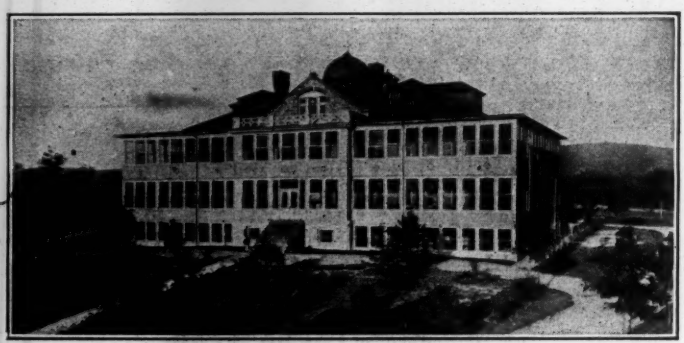

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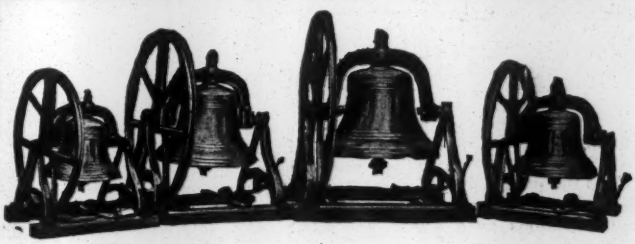

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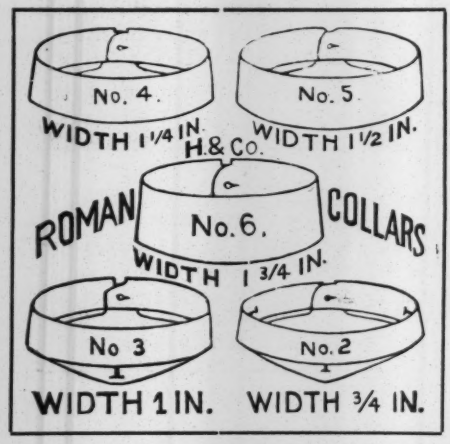

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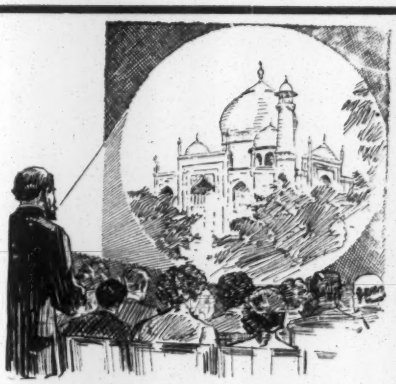

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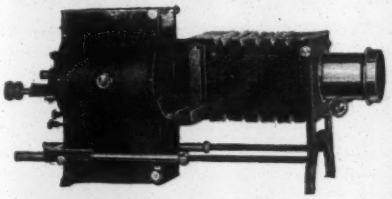

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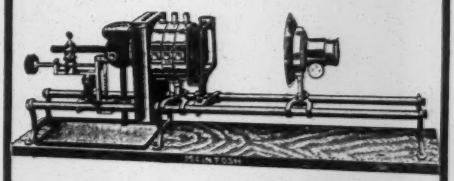

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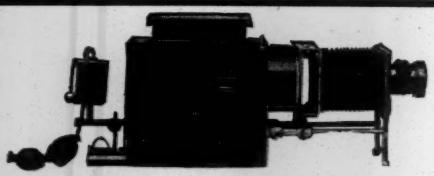

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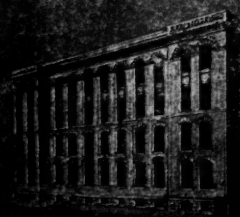

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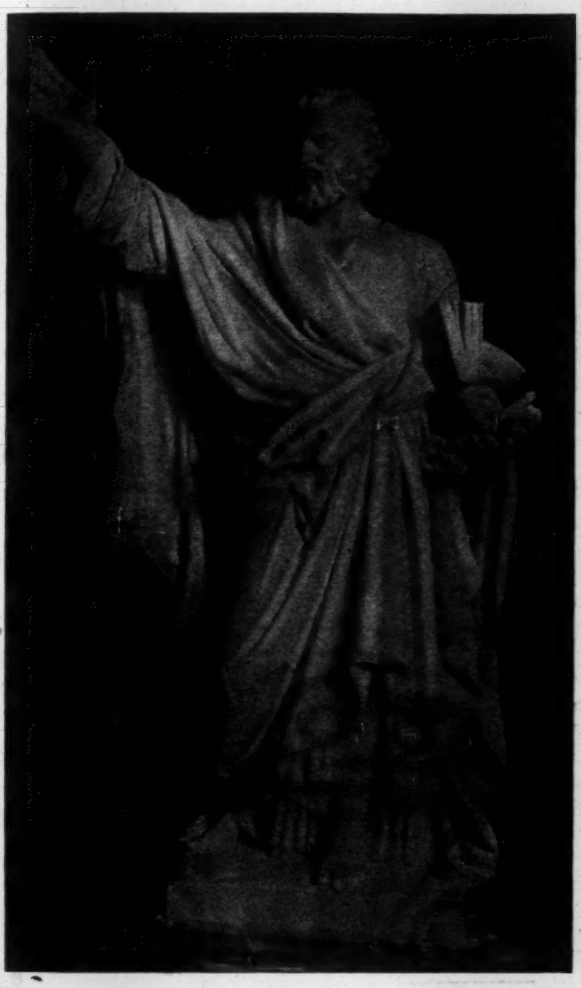

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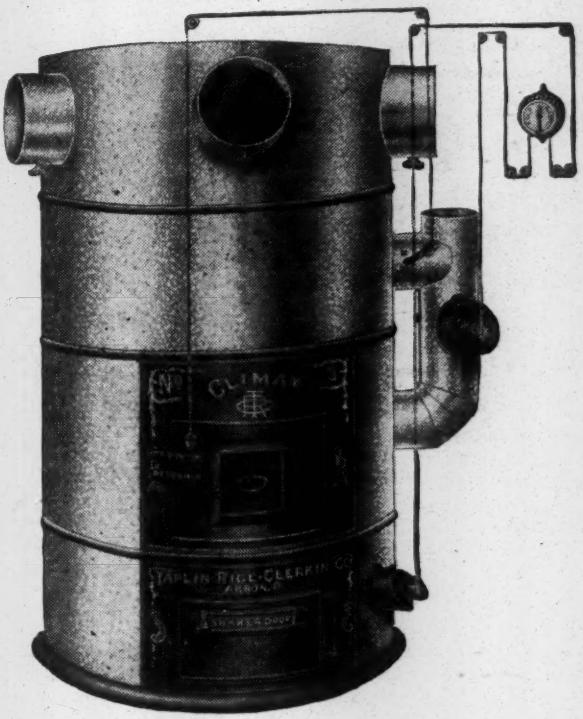

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